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University of California Press

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# of Pearls

BY EDWARD H. SCHAFER

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Introduction

This book is about Hainan Island. It may be regarded as an inflated footnote on its predecessor *The Vermilion Bird,* in which I attempted to give an account of the medieval Chinese experience in the new lands under the Tropic of Cancer, just as *The Vermilion Bird* itself narrowed the focus of *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand,* whose scope had been the whole world known to the Chinese of the T'ang period.

The time range of the present book is very much longer, running from earliest antiquity down to the end of the "Northern Sung" period—that is, until about the second decade of the twelfth century. But the emphasis is on the period from the eighth to the eleventh century when information about Hainan was beginning to become rather abundant. Practically, my story comes to an end when the exiled poet Su Shih leaves the island in A.D. 1100.

I have relied on contemporary sources throughout, but it has been impossible to neglect the descriptive material in encyclopaedic sources of the "Southern Sung" period. These incorporate much information from earlier books, such as the illustrated county gazetteers (*t'u ching*). Most important among these late Sung compilations are the *Ling wai tai ta,* for the geography, ethnology and economics of Hainan and other lands of the far south, the *Kuei hai yü heng chih,* for the same subjects, and the *Yü ti chi sheng,* a general

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To the memory of Arthur Waley

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gazetteer of Southern Sung, particularly valuable for antiquities, local lore, and toponymy.

HUA AND LI

This book is about the Hua people and the Li people. The Hua people are the "Chinese," identified as a unique ethnic and cultural entity, whose ancient homeland was the "Middle Kingdom" or "Central Plain" in the watershed of the Yellow River, in what we now call "north China." In Hainan the Hua men encountered the Li, one of many non-Chinese (i.e. "uncivilized") peoples whom they called by the collective name of Man. Some of these were successfully assimilated—that is, sinicized—and so themselves became Hua. Others perished. Some remain.

LINGNAN, NAM-VIET AND ANNAM

Hainan belongs with the region now comprised by the southern-most Chinese provinces (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) along with northern-most Vietnam. This region was called Lingnan (or Lingnam) "South of the Mountain Passes" or Nam-Viet "Southern Viet." "Annam" was the sometimes Chinese protectorate over northern Vietnam, until that region became independent in the tenth century and began its own southward expansion.

OFFICIAL TITLES

I have tried to avoid the use of official titles in this book, partly because the hierarchy of officialdom plays a very minor role in my story, and partly because the titles themselves are often long and grandiloquent, and laden with classical allusions that frequently do not come across even in the most faithful English translation.

A few deserve special mention however. Of particular importance was the title of the military governor of Hainan in late T'ang times: *Chao t'ao yu i shih,* meaning "Legate who Roves the [Patrol]

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Deployment, Exhorting and Punishing [Rebels]." The office was intended only for emergency and temporary situations that could not be handled adequately by the provincial government on the mainland.[1]

In Sung times the military governor of Hainan was styled (*Shui lu*) *chuan yün shih,* meaning "Legate for Transfer and Transport (by Water and Land)." The title derives from a classical expression *chuan yün,* common in Han texts in the sense of "regular forward conveyance," applied to the transportation of grain and other commodities to the capital, but equally to cosmic movements such as those of the sky and planets,[2] which the well-ordered economic system of the ancient empire was supposed to reflect. In T'ang times, the *Chuan yün shih* was a provincial officer in charge of transferring tax receipts and other government wealth to the capital, but in Sung he became a general magistrate with wide powers, including defense and justice.[3]

Worth mentioning also is the "Patrolling and Investigating Legate" (*Hsün chien shih*), established by Sung in some remote highlands and waters.

ROMANIZATION

For the names of things, persons and places I have given a Middle Chinese (M.C.) version in parentheses after the conventional "Mandarin" when the medieval pronunciation was strikingly different from the modern one, as Liu Yen (Lyou Ngăm). The Middle Chinese romanization employed here is the modification of Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese" that I used in *The Vermilion Bird.*[4] As for the few Han ("Old Chinese") names in the book, the Middle Chinese transcription is not much better than the Mandarin. On the other hand I find Karlgren's "Archaic" reconstructions, normally used for that period, far too conservative, and far from sufficiently contrasted with Middle Chinese, especially in the matter of consonant clusters. To have added them would have added little.

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Dates at Which Chinese Dynasties Began

ca. 1500 B.C.	*Shang*
ca. 1000 B.C.	*Chou*
221	*Ch'in*
206	*Han*
220 A.D.	*Three Kingdoms*
265	*Chin (Tsin)*
317	Northern (non-Chinese) Dynasties and Southern (Chinese) Dynasties: *Sung, Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en*
589	*Sui*
618	*T'ang*
907	Five Dynasties (North) Ten Kingdoms (South)
960	*Sung*
1260	*Yüan (Mongol)*
1368	*Ming*
1644	*Ch'ing (Manchu)*

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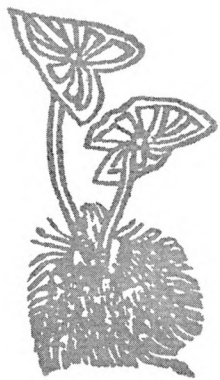
It was a flourishing tropic he required
For his refreshment, an abundant zone,
Prickly and obdurate, dense, harmonious,
Yet with a harmony not rarified
Nor fined for the inhibited instruments
Of over-civil stops.

WALLACE STEVENS
The Comedian as the Letter C



1 History

Hainan is one of the great islands of the world. It is suspended like a baroque green gem from the south coast of China, and its pendent location reminds one of Ceylon, the pearl-shaped Island of Rubies, which hangs as splendidly from the lobe of India. The Chinese emerald isle lies entirely within the tropics, directly off the eastern shores of northern Vietnam, the former Tongking, in the same lati-

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tude as the northern part of Luzon in the Philippines.[1] It is about a hundred miles wide (depending on where you measure it) and its greatest length, from northeast to southwest—it is tilted to the right on our maps—is some 185 miles.[2] The area of the island—approximately 13,000 square miles—compares most closely with that of Vancouver Island, which otherwise it does not resemble at all. It is much larger than either Sicily or Sardinia, four times the size of Cyprus and Crete, but is slightly smaller than Taiwan, and only half the size of Ceylon and Tasmania. Long administered as a part of Kwangtung Province, its southern part has recently been designated the "Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Chou" by the People's Republic.[3]

Europeans have had some acquaintance with Hainan since the late thirteenth century. Marco Polo mentions it under the spelling Cheynam,[4] and it appears in the Catalan Atlas of 1375 as Caynam.[5] Lost to the western world thereafter, it was rediscovered by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century,[6] but accurate knowledge of the island in Europe had still to wait until the late eighteenth century. The British schooner *Cuddalore* visited its coast in 1760, and early in the nineteenth century English ships began to appear regularly in the waters of the South China Sea. A pioneer explorer was Captain Purefoy, who visited the northern and eastern coasts of the island in 1804–1805.[7] The most distinguished English explorer of the island in the nineteenth century was the field naturalist Robert Swinhoe.[8] Swinhoe had a long career of government service in the Far East. He was an interpreter at Hong Kong at the age of eighteen, and later became H.B.M. Consul at Taiwan (1865) and at Ningpo (1873). He made several collecting visits to Hainan in the decade between 1856 and 1866. Notable as the first man to bring reliable knowledge both of Hainan and of Formosa to Europe, he was elected fellow of a number of learned societies, including the Royal Zoological Society of London, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Royal Society. He died a comparatively young man, but his name shares the fame of many rare and wonderful creatures with whose names it is immortally bound, notably Swinhoe's Pheasant

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(*Gennaeus swinhoii*). (That elegant Formosan fowl, arrayed in iridescent green and blue, is unhappily in danger of extinction in the twentieth century.) Swinhoe's pioneering observations were exactly contemporaneous with those of W. H. Hudson, who was then sending his letters on the "Ornithology of Buenos Ayres" from the pampas to the Zoological Society of London. (This famous contemporary did not write *The Purple Land* and *Green Mansions* until he migrated to England in 1874.)[9]

B. C. Henry was the great botanist of Hainan in the nineteenth century, and he wrote proudly that the island was, through his book, ". . . laid open for the first time to the reading world."[10] This was in the 1880's. The Danish missionary Carl Jeremiassen hazarded the unknown interior of the island in 1885, and Claudius Madrolle, compiler of a standard baedeker in French for this virtually unknown part of the world, was there soon afterwards.[11] The German M. Diehr crossed the island in the first decade of the twentieth century.[12] But the innermost heights of Hainan remained unknown to Europeans until, soon after, a number of productive expeditions traversed its difficult center. The most important of these for natural science were made by F. A. McClure, who was determined to attain the summit of the Five Finger Range—an undertaking in which no earlier European had succeeded. His first journey into the interior, in 1921, failed to achieve this objective, but a second push brought him through dense groves of bamboo and rattan to the top of the island on April 30, 1922. The important discoveries he made on these and later expeditions (1927, 1928, 1929, 1932) formed the basis of a great collection of rare plants in Canton.[13]

A zoological expedition, led by Clifford H. Pope of the American Museum of Natural History, went to Hainan late in 1922 and remained until the summer of 1923.[14] Encouraged by Henri Maspero, the French missionary and ethnographer M. Savina, who had already visited the south coastal area in 1925, studied the interior of the island under the protection of a military escort in October, 1928. His chief contributions have been in the field of linguistics, and he re-

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garded himself as the first person to study the language of the Li people (he calls them Dai).[15] Gottlieb Fenzel, whose interests were geographical and geological, journeyed through the interior in 1929.[16] Finally, we have a rich ethnological report by H. Stübel, based on his visits of 1931 and 1932.[17]

Long before the visits of these earnest westerners, the Chinese, then tentative wayfarers from their arid northern plains, had discovered this barbaric, tropical island. Their old books indicate that they had some indistinct knowledge of it from about the third century B.C. They came to know it under several names, but Hainan was not one of them. One used by the Hua invaders as an administrative name for the island's northwest coast from at least the first century B.C. was Tan-erh (Tam-nhi). This appellation seems to have been commonly taken to mean "carry ear-ornaments [or ears] on the shoulders."[18] The men of Han transcribed, it seems, some native toponym into Chinese logograms intended to describe savages whose ornament-weighted earlobes hung down on their shoulders. The first element of this official name appears also in a number of other old names, said to designate the coastal metropolis or administrative center where the Han dynasty established its rule over Hainan. This vocable was represented by a variety of graphs whose pronunciation is said to have been Shém, with alternate readings of Chem, Tam and Dam.[19] All seem to have been approximations of a local ethnic name, now lost to us, but perhaps pronounced something like Dzam or Dzem. This incomprehensible monosyllable was rationalized in Chinese in the sense of "shoulder-borne," with "ear" artificially appended. It was this version that came to prevail in Chinese texts.

The name Chu-yai (Chu-ngăăi) "Shore of Pearls," first an early Han name for the northermost tip of Hainan island, but later a local administrative name, along with Tan-erh, seems to mean just what it says. To quote the authority of Ying Shao, the second century (A.D.) scholiast: "The two counties [Chu-yai and Tan-erh] are situated along the shoring banks of the great sea. [The former] pro-

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duces true pearls, therefore it is called 'Shore of Pearls.'"[20] But there is also an old tradition that takes Chu-yai to mean "Vermilion Shore." *Chu* "bead; pearl" and *chu* "vermilion" are homonyms. The form "Vermilion Shore" appears in modern annotated versions of the History of Later Han,[21] and erratically in later texts.[22] The expression evidently had a live meaning in post-Han literature, symbolizing the barbarous, southern shores of Lingnan, the domain of the Vermilion Bird, the spirit of the tropics. Even if we take the view that "vermilion" is always a "mistake" for "pearl," it was an acceptable mistake, couched in recognizable imagery, and not to be emended frivolously.

Although the name Hainan—"South of the Sea"—by which we now know the island, also has a long history, it is not as old as "Drooping Ears" or "Shore of Pearls," and the expressions that underlie them. Moreover, in its early occurrences it does not refer specifically to the island that bears that name today. In the immediate post-Han period, when it begins to appear in Chinese texts, "South of the Sea" referred to the Vietnamese provinces (as we would style them) claimed by the southern kingdom of Wu, as contrasted with the closer provinces "East of the Sea," corresponding to the greater part of modern Kwangsi and Kwangtung.[23] Ths island we know as "Hainan" was not even included in the designation. In the fifth century, Hainan appears as a rather imprecise, collective name for southern lands beyond the familiar fields and forests, the romantic source of such delightful female adornments as pearls and tortoise shells.[24] In the sixth century, and through the T'ang period, when northern Vietnam had been partially assimilated by the Chinese as the Protectorate of Annam, the name "South of the Sea" was displaced to comprise the more distant countries beyond the Gulf of Tongking in Indochina and Indonesia—among them Champa, Cambodia, Bali and Ceylon.[25] It was only in the Sung period that the name Hainan began to be restricted to the island we now call by that name—and even then rather tentatively. When a twelfth-century source refers to the "Administration of Ch'iung in Hainan,"

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this is to be interpreted simply as "south of the seas," that is, out across the seas, in contrast to such counties as Lien and Lei on the adjacent mainland.[26] In short, *hai-nan* need not be regarded as a proper name at all. The contrasting expression *hai-pei* "north of the seas," used for coastal Kwangtung, had already been in use as early as the ninth century in a source[27] which also prefers *hai-chung* "midst of the sea," to *hai-nan* "south of the sea" for the five T'ang counties of the island.[28] The former expression had respectably legendary antecedents. It was already established as the locality of the holy islands of the blessed immortals in the boundless waters east of the Chinese mainland during the classic years of Han.[29] The association of our tropical island, first as Haichung, then as Hainan, with the divine oceanic mountains is not a trivial or transient one. We shall have occasion to dwell on its relevance in the concluding pages of this book.

Some of the earliest sources that tell of Hainan are vague about its position among the other almost legendary islands of the Pacific. One Later Han book puts Chu-yai and Tan-erh adjacent to the "Country of the Wo." Later, at least, this last was a regular name for Japan. Our text adds that "their laws and customs are much the same." An even earlier book says of Kañchi, actually many months journey across the southern seas: "The customs of the folk are rather like those of Chu-yai."[30] Other books of the first century A.D. group Tan-erh with the distant land of the pygmies and the homelands of the men with perforated breasts and the people with reversed heels—all of them savages "beyond the four seas" who know nothing of the arts of agriculture.[31] In A.D. 74, a propitious year for the Chinese, adorned by the appearance of rare polypore mushrooms in the royal palace, a flight of divine five-colored birds through the capital, and the fall of "sweet dew" on the fortunate Han nation, the Ai-lao people (perhaps related to the modern Karen), the pygmies ("wren people"), and the strange men of Tan-erh all sent respectful tribute to the Han court.[32] Clearly these diverse barbarians were thought to be much of a kind. Indeed the

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earliest of the Chinese dynastic histories had already stated that all of the remoter native peoples "from Ts'ang-wu southward to Tan-erh" had much the same culture as the other unassimilated non-Chinese tribes south of the great Yangtze River.[33]

The official "Book of Han" places the island in its correct position in the sea south of the Luichow Peninsula, but exaggerates its size. It goes on as follows:

> The people all wear a costume of linen, like an unlined blanket, which is pierced through the center so that the head may pass through. The menfolk are tillers and farmers, planting millet, rice, ramie and hemp. The womenfolk are mulberry- and silkworm-cultivators, and they weave and spin. There are neither horses nor tigers. The people possess the five kinds of livestock. The mountains abound in sambars and muntjacs. As for weapons, there are pikes, shields, knives, wooden bows and crossbows, and bamboo arrows—though sometimes these have points of bone.[34]

To this account the "Book of Later Han" adds that Hainanese chieftains and nobles pierce their ears, which hang down to their shoulders.[35]

It is possible that some of this information, especially the less precise kind, had reached the ears of the men of Han indirectly. But the reliable data in their archives was a consequence of their conquest of the northern part of the island. The events which led up to this began in the early summer of 112 B.C. when, according to the official Chinese story, a certain minister of the King of Nam-Viet, named Lü Chia, rebelled and killed both his sovereign and the Han ambassador. A great punitive expedition, composed of five armies of convicts, three of them under the command of non-Chinese aborigines, was sent southward down the rivers of Nam-Viet. The general officer in command of the whole campaign was Lu Po-te (Lu Pak-těk), entitled "Wave-subduing Army Leader."[36] The Chinese capital learned in 111 B.C. that the Nam-Viet insurrection had been crushed, and in the spring of 110 the head of Lü Chia was presented at the imperial palace. In the course of this expedition part of

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Hainan Island passed under tentative Chinese control, and two new administrative areas, named Chu-yai "Shore of Pearls" (on the immediately accessible northeastern coast) and Tan-erh (somewhat to the southwest). The official count of Chinese immigrants in Early Han tells of 23,000 taxable households in 16 townships.[37] There is nothing to indicate that the Chinese invaders had any real conception of the size of the island: their direct knowledge did not extend beyond a north coastal strip, which might conceivably belong to a vast oceanic continent. In any case, their interest was not in exploration as such, but in dynastic prestige, and the acquisition of drugs, incenses, pearls, tortoiseshell, ivory, and colorful, scented cabinet woods.[38]

Books of the post-T'ang periods tell that the great transport ships that carried the conquering Han troops across the strait to Hainan had been commanded by a certain Yang P'u (Yang Bok). The site of his new town and the spot where he burned his boats were pointed out to visitors in medieval and modern times.[39] Perhaps these local traditions preserve something of the truth. A real Yang P'u, titled "Army Leader of the Double-Decked Boats" (*Lou-ch'uan chiang-chün*) took part in the great expedition to Nam-Viet, but the Han histories do not say that he sailed his craft across to Shore of Pearls.[40] Quite possibly it was his title alone, discovered in ancient books, that engendered a medieval myth.

In any event, Chinese rule in Hainan was not successful. The exactions of the new administrators, greedy for the natural wealth of the island, provoked repeated native uprisings. An example of such a grasping mandarin is Sun Hsing (Swĕn Ghăng), who represented the Han government on Shore of Pearls. He imposed a heavy tax, payable in fine cloth, on the native population. The aborigines, outraged at the increased menial service required of them to meet the levy, attacked the provincial town and killed Sun Hsing. Hsing's son Pao initiated a vigorous and effective program aimed at suppressing aboriginal resistance, but in the long run increased Chinese exploitation led to almost continuous insurrection.[41] As a result, the

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men of Han were obliged to withdraw to the immediate vicinity of Chu-yai on the northern tip of the island, and finally perforce, in 82 B.C., the frontier administration of Tan-erh County was abolished.[42] Evidence for the events of the next thirty years is lacking, but things did not go well for the invaders. The last remaining Han stronghold was harassed incessantly—there were climaxes in 59 and 53 B.C.—and the natives were repelled only with great difficulty. In 52 B.C. a certain Chang Lu (Tyang Luk) was sent to Chu-yai with an armed force to bolster the failing authority of the Chinese there.[43] The effectiveness of this measure was short-lived. A great general uprising began in 48 B.C. The native "clerks" employed by the Hua overlords joined the rebels. Two years later Chinese control over the diminished colony was virtually at an end.[44]

At this crucial juncture a court official of Han made himself eternally famous by proposing a humane policy for Hainan—a policy not to be imitated in later centuries, since it did not support the spread of Chinese power and influence. In 46 B.C. the emperor posthumously styled Yüan Ti convened his council to discuss the wisdom of launching a full-scale invasion of the island, to settle its troubles once and for all. The proposal was openly opposed by one Chia Sun-chih (Kă Swĕn-chi). The sovereign sent a great lord named Wang Shang to discuss the matter privately with Sun. Wang catechized Sun, whose loyalty seems to have been suspect, observing that the heroic rulers of antiquity had brought order and civilization to savages and infidels—was this weighty precedent to be ignored? Sun's rebuttal of that popular and persuasive justification of imperialism was roughly as follows: the supermen of the past did not enforce Chinese rule where it was not wanted—although it was true that many men welcomed it. Accordingly, the antique Chinese realms had not been very large. The greatest, it was believed, were the kingdoms of Yao, Shun and Yü. "Confucius referred to Yao as 'great indeed,' to Shao [Shun] as 'entirely good,' and to Yü as 'without deficiencies.' But even with the virtues of these three supermen, the dimensions of their lands did not exceed

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some thousands of *li* . . . where there was no desire to go along with them, they did not impose order by force." So it was also during the great reigns of Shang and Chou times. Chia Sun-chih observed also that whatever successes were obtained in those honoured periods in bringing the infidels to accept Chinese rule "could not have been achieved by weapons and leather [armor]!" But the principality of Ch'in, greedy for foreign conquest, "desired to broaden its lands without forethought for the harm to them." The famous Han conquests in Nam-Viet, begun as an attempt to bring order to the disturbed frontier—a burdensome legacy from Ch'in times—ended in pouring immense resources of wealth and manpower into the bottomless tropical pit, whose annexation had never been imagined by the ancient sages. The continuance of a recent and doubtful policy of expansion there brought only suffering and death to thousands of people. Moreover, said Chia, this great outpouring of substance and effort was being wasted on immoral, bestial savages "not different from birds and beasts, ultimately not worth the founding of counties and townships." Hainan was a dank, poisonous land, unfit for normal men. The pearls, rhinoceros horn and tortoise-shell of Shore of Pearls were not worth the cost in suffering. On the other hand, the savings that would accrue from the abandonment of this hellish coast would prove more than adequate for the disposal of truly urgent problems close to home—especially the terrible results of widespread crop-failure and famine in north China. The minister's argument was well received, especially as there was no controverting the two facts of the actual loss of Hainan and social disorders in the homeland. The court was quickly persuaded that the gold of Hainan was mere brummagem and pinchbeck. The island enterprise was abandoned, and the county of Chu-yai was abolished.[45] Hainan was thus effectively removed from the sphere of Chinese influence and was for ninety years merged indistinctly with the poorly defined barbarian lands beyond the marches known directly to the Hua people.

It was a second and more famous Wave-subduing Army-Leader,

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Ma Yüan, who effectively recovered the Nam-Viet lands that had gradually reverted to barbarism—that is, failure of Chinese control—and made his own name immortal as a divine channel-cutter, boat-builder and mountain-mover.[46] In A.D. 43, when his conquest was completed, or perhaps soon after that, the old name Chu-yai was revived for a township (*hsien*) newly established on the northern tip of Hainan. This Chinese outpost was subject to a higher administration in Ho-p'u on the mainland—a sign that it was still small and precariously held.[47] But by A.D. 67 the situation had improved. The Han men had extended their authority once more towards the southwest as far as the vicinity of their former holdings at Tan-erh.[48]

But Hainan remained, for most Chinese, a remote and almost legendary island. In the sources of the immediate post-Han period, "the Shore of Pearls lies in the great sea, beyond our southern limits."[49] As of old, the people there were hardly distinguished from the Japanese, themselves only dimly known. Like the dwarfish folk of Japan, they wore ponchos, carried bows and arrows, and tattooed their bodies.[50] The few texts that survive from this poorly documented period note some new facts about the southern islanders. They comprise peoples "of diverse stocks and different kinds," and number more than 100,000. "Neither men nor women take it to be shameful that their private parts are exposed." They are blackened by the closeness of the sun, and so take swarthiness to be beautiful. But, contrariwise, their women are pretty and fond of white complexions and flowing locks.[51] This inconsistent description reads like a standard myth of the jade-white immortal maidens of the paradise isles—here identified with Hainan. No doubt it was difficult for bookish persons to reconcile the glamorous tradition with the recently reported reality.

It could not have been easy to obtain information about the natives of the island in this period of unrest and dissolution in all the lands claimed by the Chinese. The Han empire—in its remoter parts a paper empire—was gone. From the third to the fifth centu-

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ries the northerners achieved little in the way of promoting their interests on Hainan. The same questions that had agitated the theorists of Han continued to trouble the Chinese policy-makers of Wu, the state which inherited the uncertainly bounded southern territories once claimed by Han. An officer of Wu, who had served in Vietnam with the famous Shih Hsieh (Dri Sep) at the end of the second century, memorialized the throne asking that the blame for the failure of the Han venture there be laid to poor selection of local administrators and the lack of proper discipline among them: presumably many of these petty officers had been chosen from among the native population, as was customary in frontier regions.[52] Even the leading military strategists of Wu, men such as Ch'üan Tsung (Dzywen Dzong) and Lu Sun (Lyuk Swĕn) advised against an attempt to restore the old Chinese colony on the island, partly on such good traditional grounds—already used by the sagacious Chia Sun-chih in the Han period—that it was an expensive and profitless undertaking, particularly at a time when the nation was oppressed by famine and high taxes. These officers also anticipated a great loss of Chinese lives from the diseases and poisonous airs of a hideous land "where the folk are like wildfowl and beasts." Sun Ch'üan, ruler of Wu, ignored this good advice and in 246 sent an army to occupy Shore of Pearls. When this host proceeded to the island in the summer of 242, led by Nieh Yu (Nhep You) and his lieutenant Lu K'ai (Lyuk K'ai), the latter, who became Grand Protector of the restored colony of Chu-yai, earned much glory for himself (as the official history tells us) by his "captures and beheadings."[53] But the Chinese paid dearly for their recovered glory. Between 80 and 90 per cent of their soldiers perished on the humid pearlless shore.[54]

None of this misery and bloodshed gained lasting advantage for the invaders. With the "reunification" of the empire under the aegis of Chin, no attempt was made to maintain the farce of real Chinese control of the north coast of Hainan, so painfully reclaimed by Wu, and the County of Shore of Pearls was abolished.[55] The administration of Chu-yai was nominally restored by Sung, Chin's successor

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in the south, in 431,[56] and the Liang court attempted the same hopeless feat in the sixth century, creating a new County of Yai (Yai-chou), with its headquarters at I-lun Township—not where old Chu-yai had been, but in the southwest, approximately at long-vanished Tan-erh.[57] But no efficacious establishment was created there. Some military success in Hainan was finally achieved during the takeover of the south in the new reunification brought about by the armies of Sui. This conquest produced one of the many heroines—or amazons—whose names distinguish the military annals of tropical China. This was an aboriginal lady surnamed Hsi (Sei). She was a native of coastal Kwangtung, and the wife of Feng Pao (Byung Pau), a member of an ancient and honored clan among the native peoples of Lingnan.[58] She rendered great service to the Sui state in subduing the barbarian tribes, her congeners, even leading soldiers into battle against them. Largely as a result of her heroic efforts, it is told, more then a thousand "grottoes"—that is, remote settlements—of Tan-erh submitted to Sui. The grateful founder of that nation awarded her a title of nobility.[59] Chu-yai County was restored, governing ten nominal townships ringed around the whole island, with a taxable population, no doubt Chinese or sinicized aborigines, of 19,500 families.[60] This was the first Chinese dynasty to claim such comprehensive holdings in Hainan. But the new situation, so hopeful for the Chinese, began to deteriorate in the sixth year of the reign of Sui Yang Ti, and early in A.D. 611 rebellions began to flare up. The most significant of these were led by two brothers whose names are given in Chinese as Wang Wan-ch'ang and Wang Chung-t'ung. These insurrections were finally put down by Han Hung, a soldier brought from the northwestern frontier of China.[61] In this same year a prince of the house of Sui, named Lun, a handsome man and a student of musical theory, was reduced to the rank of commoner by his sovereign and banished to Hainan with his family. Here he had the ill luck to encounter the new revolts of the aborigine Lin Shih-hung (Lyĕm Dri-ghwăng), and was compelled to flee to safety in Tan-erh.[62] After this the Sui strong-

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holds on the island gradually disintegrated. The former prince was ultimately allowed to return to his homeland by the new rulers of T'ang. But the harassments of Lin Shih-hung and his clansmen continued to plague the Chinese in Nam-Viet for many years.[63]

The T'ang empire, revived from the ruins of its predecessor, was consolidated, strengthened and expanded. The power and longevity of this new nation—although it was neither as powerful nor as long-lived in the far south as we ordinarily suppose—made it possible for the Chinese to obtain more accurate and more detailed information about the natural history and the ethnography of Hainan. In pre-T'ang books the island is described only as populated by "savages" or "infidels" or "southern barbarians." From the eighth century on, the picture of a number of distinct ethnic identities among the island's peoples begins to emerge, at first very obscurely. Where before there were only such basic facts as the names of the chief crops of the Hainanese, the kinds of weapons used against the Chinese soldiery, and the lewd and superstitious customs prevalent, now the aborigines begin to appear as real human beings with complex social and religious institutions, and a variety of arts and crafts. A really detailed picture does not emerge, however, until the late T'ang and Sung periods. It is from texts of that age that I shall draw my image of the early medieval Shore of Pearls. Before doing so, a brief sketch of the new administrative situation established on Hainan by the T'ang conquerors will be in order.

The T'ang takeover in Nam-Viet was a complex proceeding, but this is not the place to review it.[64] For Hainan, the change came when Feng Ang (Byung Ang), the great viceroy and member of the same powerful pro-Chinese clan as Feng Pao, the husband of the native female partisan of the Chinese just mentioned, decided on 29 August 622 to turn over the large tropical areas under his control to the T'ang general Li Ching. Included in this profitable gift was the island of Hainan.[65]

The administration of the Chinese holdings there was reorganized many times during the long rule of T'ang. The overall author-

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ity shifted from place to place—that is, sometimes it lay in Canton, sometimes in Hanoi—and from office to office. Sometimes it was vested in a specially appointed Exhorting and Punishing Legate (*Chao t'ao shih*), sometimes in a Ranging and Annexing Legate (*Ching lüeh shih*).[66] Similarly the names of the administrative units of Hainan—the counties and townships—were unstable, especially the names of the townships. A sort of average picture of the T'ang counties (*chou*), showing the number of taxable families in the official eighth century count, follows:[67]

chou	=*chün*		
YAI	CHU-YAI	north, closest to mainland	6,646
CH'IUNG	CH'IUNG-SHAN	close by in west	649
TAN	CH'ANG-HUA (TAN-ERH)	southwest	3,309
CHEN	YEN-TE	south coast	819
WAN-AN	WAN-AN	southeast coast	121

The significant innovations here are the establishment of Ch'iung-chou in 631[68] in the hills south of ancient Yai-chou, and the creation of Wan-an-chou on the wild shores looking out over the open waters of the South China Sea towards the Philippine Islands.[69]

The new official nomenclature embodied a fixture and an ideal. The name "Ch'iung"—especially in the form Ch'iung-chou—gradually attached itself to the whole island and has become its official name in modern times. This was the fixture. The ideal underlay the reasons for the adoption of that name, which symbolized ancient utopian beliefs. These will concern us later. Suffice it to note here, in this political and administrative context, that in the ninth century the new name was already significant enough to be used in the titles of royal princes. A Prince of Ch'iung could rejoice in his title as the equal of his brothers who bore such ancient and honorable titles as "Prince of Ch'in" and "Prince of Ch'u."[70]

Although the T'ang occupation of Hainan had a certain success beyond that achieved by earlier Chinese administrations, it was re-

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stricted to lowland enclaves and was continually threatened by uprisings among the hill tribes. The most serious of these outbreaks include one in 667 during which the aborigines captured Ch'iung-chou.[71] There was a devastating series of raids on the Chinese coastal settlements between 705 and 709,[72] and the tribes gave continuous trouble during the eighth century. The Chinese position in Hainan continued to deteriorate until the Legate of Lingnan, Tu Yu, began to make significant headway against the tribesmen in the 780s.[73] This campaign culminated in 789 with the fortunate efforts of his successor, Li Fu (Li Byuk) who, although he seems not to have gone to Hainan in person, is credited with having brought a temporary end to the disorders which had terrorized the Chinese colonies there for over a hundred years. He was also given credit for many heroic acts on behalf of civilization in Nam-Viet, among them the instruction of the people in the art of making ceramic tiles. In 789 his agents, chief among whom was Chiang Meng-ching (Kyang Măng-kyăng), starting from a surviving base in Yai-chou, drove the aborigines from the neglected Chinese settlements in and around Ch'iung-chou, rebuilt the city walls, and pushed vigorous new assaults against the interior tribes.[74] It was at this time that a new authority was established over the island—a "protectorate" (*tu tu fu*) with headquarters in Ch'iung-chou, and a resident commander with the title of "Exhorting and Punishing Legate."[75] Chinese control seems not to have been seriously shaken for almost eighty years after this.

The year 864 was distinguished by many great and dreadful events. A comet appeared, and although a court astrologer bravely construed the apparition as an omen favorable to the nation, there could be no blinking at the disasters in the south. Massive uprisings of the native tribes in Lingnan, which gravely threatened all Chinese holdings there, had begun several years earlier. In 858 the Nan-chao nation, an old enemy of T'ang on the Burmese frontier, invaded the provinces of Nam-Viet, nominally to aid the insurrectionists. By 863 they had seized all of the Protectorate of Annam

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and begun the invasion of what is now Kwangsi and western Kwangtung. But in 864 the Chinese were able to mount a great counteroffensive led by the redoubtable general Kao P'ien.[76] A minor part of this great campaign took place in Hainan, where four Chinese captains named Li, Chao, Hsin and Fu (Pyu), invaded the hill settlements of the aborigines immediately south of Ch'iung-chou, captured a chieftain named Chiang Lin (Tsyang Lyin), and declared the establishment of a new county, named Chung-chou "County of Loyalty," in the vicinity of modern Ting-an.[77] Even with this extension of their rule, the Hua men were still far from the high mountains of the interior, which remained entirely in the hands of the aborigines, and the new county was maintained only at the cost of great suffering and loss of life. In the end, all proved in vain. In 867 the Hua men were forced to abandon this outpost.[78]

There is little information available about the fate of the Hainanese counties during the last decades of T'ang, when all of Nam-Viet was the arena for the bloody struggles of rival warlords. Ultimately, in 917, the Chinese claims in Hainan were inherited by the unique tropical kingdom of Han, founded by the adventurer Liu Yen (Lyou Ngăm), with its capital at Canton.[79] There is little to show the extent of the new dynasty's holdings on the island. It retained a system of *chou* and *hsien* around the coastal lowlands, similar to that of T'ang,[80] but there is some evidence for the local deterioration of Chinese control and the withdrawal of their garrisons from the districts of Tan and Wan-an in the 950s.[81] A few relics of this short-lived but fascinating kingdom survived on the island into later centuries. Among them was an inscribed bell, dated 951,[82] at a Buddhist temple of Ch'iung-chou, and of a hall of another monastery, west of the town, both known to the men of Sung.[83] There was also a set of a dozen great iron pillars cast to support the roof of another hall in the same region. Two of these columns survived into the Southern Sung period in a fosse east of the walled city.[84] Such archaeological traces of Southern Han as these surely point to a reasonably effective occupation of the old T'ang strongholds. This

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did not mean that life was always easy for the small Chinese settlers on the island. The last Han ruler, Liu Ch'ang, needed great sums of money for his splendid palaces and gardens in Canton. The exactions of his tax-collectors became increasingly heavy, to the extent that four or five "cash" (*ch'ien*) were demanded for each "peck" (*tou*) of rice marketed in Ch'iung-chou in 963—a great burden on the farmers there. It was this same excessive need for new revenues that led to the establishment of the famous government pearl fisheries of Mei ch'uan tu in deep offshore waters in the tenth century.[85]

When, in 971, the Sung armies completed their conquest of the southernmost lands once held by T'ang—with the exception of the former Protectorate of Annam, which managed to retain its independence—the northerners found that their holdings in the remoter coastal parts of Hainan were so sparse and underpopulated that they established no separate administration there. Yai-chou, Tan-chou, Wan-an-chou and Chen-chou were all placed under the control of the chief magistrate at Ch'iung-chou on the northern tip of the island.[86]

Another change soon followed—a confusing one for the historical geographers of later times. In 972 the old, classical Yai-chou disappeared altogether from the north end of Hainan, being completely swallowed up by Ch'iung-chou, while the erstwhile Chen-chou, at the southernmost tip of the island, was renamed Yai-chou.[87] From the last quarter of the tenth century, then, the "shore of pearls" could no longer be found in its ancient location, looking towards the near mainland, but was strangely dislocated to the remotest part of Hainan, facing the vast ocean, and there it remains today. But, for a while at least, the local people in the north continued to speak of their countryside as "old Yai-chou."[88]

During these early Sung years, there is little to indicate the character and condition of the new settlement in these distant outposts. The meagre data indicate a partial and tenuous occupation, with occasional enlargements achieved by ambitious Chinese magistrates. Such a one was Li Ch'ung-chü (Li Dryung-gyo), who held the

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office of "Patrolling and Investigating Legate" in the period 976–984 (the *T'ai p'ing hsing kuo* era)—that is to say, he was the chief imperial agent on the island, with authority over all four counties. The "History of Sung" reports that he personally visited "the grottoes and caves" of the troublesome aborigines, attended to their problems, and made rich gifts to their chiefs. "All of their hordes were won over by his cherishing."[89] This account contrasts greatly with the usual tale of Chinese exploitation, plundering, and enslavement. It does not seem likely that such a gentle and unprofitable extension of Chinese influence could have been more than temporary.

Among many lesser administrative changes during the Northern Sung period, the following are particularly noteworthy. The year 1052 was troubled by repeated insurrections of the native tribes of Nam-Viet,[90] and Chinese authority on Hainan declined to such an extent that the high administration at Ch'iung-chou was abolished altogether, and the whole island was placed under the nominal jurisdiction of Jung-chou on the mainland, one of the three major subdivisions of Kwangsi.[91] That this subordinate condition was also impermanent is indicated by a report for the year 1054, which tells that a certain Fu Hu (Byu Ghu) prominent among the Li tribesmen, outraged when a minor Chinese official seized ten of his slaves, captured the Patrolling and Investigating Legate Mu-jung Yün-tse along with his military escort, fifty or sixty in all—though later he released them.[92] It appears that although the old form of administration had been re-established on Hainan, its success was dependent on the good will of the tribesmen near the Chinese settlements, who were by no means overawed by the Hua presence. But this situation differed in no wise from that which had obtained during the past four hundred years. There are some indications that the eleventh century may have been a worse time than normal, for we read that in 1073–74 the three outlying counties—those in the wilds beyond Ch'iung-chou—were "raised" (as the euphemism had it) from civil administrations to military areas. In the west, Tan-chou became the Ch'ang-hua Army-area (1073); in the east Wan-an-chou

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became the Wan-an Army-area (1074); and in the south Yai-chou became the Chu-yai (our sadly displaced Shore of Pearls again!) Army-area (1073). The last named of these was later redesignated Chi-yang Army-area.[93] Through all of this, the high command seems to have remained on the mainland, for we read that when a Li tribesman named Huang Ying[94] raided the Chinese settlements of Chu-yai Army-area in 1076, the imperial administration ordered the soldiery of "the Western Route of Kuang-nan"—that is, the Kwangsi provincial government—to take appropriate action against him.[95]

The official census for this era (the *Yüan feng* reign, beginning in 1078) gives some idea of the failure of Sung policy in Hainan, in terms of the failure of the population to increase since T'ang times. The figures for the counties range from 8,963 taxable families in Ch'iung-chou to 270 taxable families in distant Wan-an,[96] only a slight increase over the eighth-century figures.

At the very end of the Northern Sung period, some apparent progress was made in subduing the aborigines of the remotest regions. In 1086, a royal edict expressed pleasure at the tokens of loyalty (not identified) displayed in the Chu-yai Army-area in the far south. The emperor was pleased to allow the "wild Li to repent their transgressions and to renovate themselves."[97] Soon after, in 1107, an entirely new county administration called Chen[a]-chou was created in the refractory Li mu Mountains in the interior of the island. This ambitious venture endured only until the winter of 1111–12, and was then abandoned. At the same time the venerable Ch'iung-chou administration, the last to retain the semblance of a civil government on Hainan, finally went the way of Tan, Yai and Wan-an. It was replaced by the Ching-hai ("Quieted Sea") Army-area.[98] The native peoples of Shore of Pearls could not be assimilated to the new order.

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Above, undreamed-of planets shine—
The stars we know are gone.
Around, our clustered seamen mark
The silent deep ablaze
With fires, through which the far-down shark
Shoots glimmering on his ways.

RUDYARD KIPLING
With Drake in the Tropics

2 Nature

And now we must look at this jewel of the South China Sea over which so many gruesome battles were fought, and so many unresolved conflicts of conscience generated. What was it really like? Was it worth all of the effort? Was it only a demon-haunted wilderness, repulsive to civilized men—or was it only a more vivid extension of the warm southland that stretched from Hunan to

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Annam, gradually tasted but hardly relished over the post-Han centuries? Even more, was it superior to any of the older frontiers—possibly even a relic of the lost, beautiful past and at the same time a paradise yet to be realized? [1] The answers to these questions depend first of all on an assessment of the physical character of Hainan. Here the image of the ambiguous island will be reconstructed as it appeared to Chinese visitors—most of them reluctant ones—of the early middle ages, that is, of the late T'ang and early Sung periods.

Until the sixth or seventh century of our era,[2] the Chinese knew almost nothing of Hainan, except for a small area close to its northern coast—a wavering strip with occasional southward bulges. This was ancient Shore of Pearls. Beyond it lay a vaguely comprehended, fearful hinterland, conceivably a broad promontory extending from a southern continent. That it was not could have been known only from the reports of foreign sailors, or the confidences of aboriginal clients—the unpopular Hua intruders had no direct experience of the further shorelines. But with the aggressive efforts of the T'ang administration to establish its authority all round the island, its true shape began to emerge. Some local magistrates assiduously collected information; the boldest of them visited the border tribes; tentative maps were put together, certainly marred by large blank areas in the interior. Unfortunately the earliest maps and gazetteers have disappeared. The name "Hainan" in pre-Sung book titles must not deceive us. Such a T'ang compilation as "Record of a Journey among the Several Foreign Peoples of Hainan" by one Ta Hsi-t'ung [3] probably means no more than "account of the foreign peoples of the coasts and islands of the South China Sea," or, as we would say, "Oceanic peoples."

From mid-T'ang times, however, it was increasingly understood that the production of accurate maps and guides was the responsibility of the local magistrate,[4] and in early Sung times their publication was firmly established procedure, resulting in the appearance of scores of "standard texts with charts" (*t'u ching*). Unfortunately

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only the *name* "Standard text with charts of Ch'iung Administration" (*Ch'iung kuan t'u ching*), authored at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Chao Ju-hsia—presumably the high commissioner for the island—now survives as an example from Hainan.[5] Other official productions of a comparable sort were already in existence in early Sung times. The "Charts of the Several Precincts beyond the Sea" (*Hai wai chu yü t'u*) produced in 977 by Li Fu (Li Pyu) almost certainly included Hainan Island.[6] The same must have been true of the "Charts of Land Features of the Various Foreign [places] beyond the Sea" (*Hai wai chu fan ti li t'u*) produced in 1003 by Ling Ts'e.[7] But we can hardly guess what information was provided by these lost medieval gazetteers—certainly the plausible outline of an uncertain coast, the relative locations of Chinese towns and the roads connecting them, and familiar hills and waterways.

Today we can see the island as a whole, and even guess at the stages of its pre-human history. Hainan, like Formosa, Borneo, Sumatra and Java, lies on the Sunda shelf, and has only recently been separated from the Asiatic mainland. Hainan Strait is shallow and only ten or fifteen miles broad. Its waters cover an east-west fault zone, submerged during an age of violent volcanic activity on the northern part of the island and in southern Luichow at the end of the Pleistocene, and the rise of the sea-level as a result of the melting of the great glaciers.[8] The core of the island is an extension of the hills of Kwangsi south of the West River, which are themselves a long spur of the mountains of Yünnan.[9] The paddy fields and grasslands of the north grow in red and brown soils, which derive from lavas—chiefly olivine basalt—tuffs, cinder cones, crater lakes, and other remnants of the wild outbursts that took place at the beginning of the Recent geological age.[10] South of these are exposed the granitic masses that make up the highlands. Five Fingers Peaks, just beyond the center of the island, are their culmination.[11]

These summits, dark and heavily forested, more than 6,000 feet high, are the inaccessible and ultimate stronghold of the native peoples. They remained beyond the ken of the medieval Chinese, al-

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though one Sung source states that even the aborigines knew nothing of the peak country.[12] Somewhat nearer were the Li mu Mountains, whose steep green, boulder-strewn cliffs could barely be discerned on clear days from the foothill settlements of the Chinese.[13] Fantastic and remote, they seemed to penetrate the solid blue dome of the sky: "A single peak, upthrust, halcyon-green, pushed into heaven."[14] They were full of mystery and magic:

> When the skies are about to rain, an auspicious light is seen in the night. The "watchers of auras" state that this is the Star of the Southern Pole descending on these mountains.[15]

Or again:

> The Li mu Mountains are paramount among those of the four counties of the island. These mountains stand high and tall, and each day after the dragon and snake hours [morning] clouds and mists gather and accumulate on them. Yet a single peak thrusts up to heaven. But from the monkey and cock hours onward [late afternoon] it too is seen to be covered. This must be the place where, it is said, the rays of the Southern Pole Star descend.[16]

The name "Li mu" means "Mother of the Li," a suitable appellation for the home mountains whose chasms and caverns nurtured the Li peoples native to the island. The ethnic name Li became rather common in Hainanese toponymy in the early Sung period—probably a sign of growing Chinese familiarity with the island.[17] So beyond the Li Mother Mountains there were a "Spring of the Li's Chant," and a "Mountain of the Li Powder."[18] The significance of these names can not now be determined. Probably they preserve faded memories of incidents of pioneering days, or Chinese folk etymologies for local names. Indeed one Sung source asserts that the name "Li mu" itself does not mean "Mother of the Li," but that *li* is a corruption of *li* "plow," standing for the Herdboy Star (Altair), and that *mu* is a corruption of *wu* (*myu*) "minx,"[19] the name of the chief star of another constellation (corresponding to ϵ Aquarii), and indeed these two asterisms were the very ones that controlled the destiny of

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tropical China. Moreover, it was said that the Minx Star often descended into the Li mu Mountains. It follows that it must be the same as the star of the Southern Pole whose appearance sometimes foretold the approach of the monsoon showers.[20]

Looking to the north from their precarious stronghold on the south shore of the island, newly named Yai-chou, the men of Sung could see strange and even more impressive heights, "bountifully upthrust."[21] These seemed more ominous and dangerous than the summits visible from the older strongholds in the north. Here, in the farthest south, even in the foothills:

> The land is confined and the folk are few. The aerial syndrome is irregular, but in spring it is usually miserably dry, but towards summer there is rain. Our fuel gatherers and cowherds, fishers and hunters mix and mingle with the Li and the Lao—but, going and coming, they do not fail to carry bows and arrows.[22]

The wet, orchidaceous, mysterious highlands dripped and spurted with springs, freshets, torrents and waterfalls, the higher ones gouging steep-walled channels and narrow cloughs in the ancient granite.[23] But even the lowlands boasted excellent water. The sweet and sacred waters of the cold springs east of the county town of Ch'iung-chou came to be associated with the name of the great poet Su Shih, who passed there in 1097. He praised their rare flavor, and visited them again on his way back to the mainland in 1100, by which time their reputation had already been established as a result of his first visit.[24] It was said that this excellent water had already been familiar to the T'ang exile, Li Te-yü. Moreover a certain holy monk claimed that these springs were fed by underground channels from a well in Ch'ang-an, the capital city. Thus some measure of the benevolence of the divine monarch always flowed through these liquid channels to the unhappy exiles in Hainan.[25]

Not all of these valuable spoutings were cold. As did Nam-Viet generally, the island gushed hot, healing waters for the benefit of mankind.[26] There were other springs whose temperature varied with the season. Some of these were in the vicinity of Tan-chou:

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> Though clear and cool in the summer, they bubble up warm in the winter. All who are afflicted with migraine, acariasis, and malarial vapors are cured by bathing in them.[27]

There was some doubt among the Chinese as to whether the climate of Hainan was as salubrious as its ground waters. The island lay under the tropical monsoon, which began its moist onset from the South China Sea in April and May, not to die away until October. Then the winds reversed themselves, and the dry winter monsoon began to blow out from the vast hinterland of Asia.[28] None of this is surprising, but Hainan is distinguished among tropical islands by an occasional snowfall in its highlands during the winter monsoon.[29]

We owe our best medieval descriptions of the climate of Shore of Pearls to Su Shih. In the following verses, invoking the example of T'ao Ch'ien as his inspiration, he comments in a mood of phenological wonder on the rich and timeless life he was obliged to live there:

South of the Sea there is neither winter nor summer—
How can I tell when the year's end approaches?
Season on season, little is shaken down:
Bloom and wilt both, as I look up and down.
Here Highest Heaven accepts a full wilderness—
The rarest plants grow richly—unreasonably.
Hoe and rake make do—replacing the raw of autumn;
Harvest comes—without frosty winds.

They plant me orchids and chrysanthemums by hand—
Regale me endlessly at the finest parties.
Looting those odors, my eyes have been brightened.
Drinking these wines, my belly remains bottomless.
After herbs are gone, the soil composts itself;
So deep are wells, their walls must ever be raised.
No need to laugh at a one-acre garden—
Here an ant-hill can match Mount Heng and Mount Sung.[30]

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Balancing the astonishing fertility and the quick, easy yields (no slow, hard grubbing as in the old Chinese lands) were the disadvantages of quick and easy decay. Here is Su Shih again, writing in Hainan in 1098:

> In Lingnan, the vapors of Heaven lie low and moist, and the vapors of Earth are steamy and dank: here, South of the Sea, it is most so. At the juncture of summer and autumn there is nothing that does not fall into decay and ruin. Human beings are not metal or stone—how can they expect to endure it? Even so, there are quite a few old men in Tan-erh. Cases of over a hundred years are not exceptional, to say nothing of those in their eighties and nineties. So I know that neither longevity nor early death are predetermined—habituation fixes them. It is thus that the survival of silkworms in ice and rats in fire is possible. Yet even I, without taking thought, have been able to lodge my consciousness beyond created things, so that in glue-cracking cold I made no disposition against freezing, and in metal-fusing heat I took no care against its poisons. Well then, is more than a hundred years worth mentioning? These old and ignorant fellows, just like the silkworms and rats, have survived amidst it all, just accepting it stolidly. They breath out the warm and breath in the cool continuously, without let or hindrance—therefore long life is possible for them. Chuang-tzu says, "Heaven pushes [the breath] through day and night without interruption, yet men take care to plug up their apertures!" How could it be otherwise? The ninth month, the twenty-seventh day: autumn; prolonged, incessant rain. I look about at my curtains and canopies: a pint or more of white ants, and all decayed and fallen apart. I react with endless sighs.[81]

In short, here where mildew destroys all things, it is still possible to preserve one's precious body, simply by accepting the environment without struggle or argument. One must not resist the vital breath of the locality—unique to each place, but available to all. These are the thoughts of Su Shih the Taoist—a searcher for immortality, hopeful that he will prolong his life in the heat and humidity of a land unknown to the Taoist sages of antiquity.

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Yet, despite the average northerner's view that Hainan was a pestilential, deadly place,[32] some official sources of the northern Sung period allowed that its reputation might be exaggerated. The "Sung History" tells that Li Fu (Li Pyu) who, as we have seen, published a map of the island soon after the Sung conquest, compared conditions in established places of political exile from the point of view of their salubrity (he had special reference to the case of Lu To-sun, whom we shall encounter later). He wrote: "Although Shore of Pearls is far away in the midst of the sea, still its waters and soils are rather fine, while in Ch'un-chou [in Kwangtung on the mainland], rather closer to us, the malarial vapors are very poisonous, and all who go there inevitably die." [33] An official gazetteer of the Sung period, perhaps adhering piously to the pronouncements of Su Shih, comments on the health of the islanders: "In summer it is not extremely hot; in winter not very cold. The villages and towns abound in old men of ninety or a hundred years—all of them still walking about vigorously." [34]

However robust the natives may have been, the climate of Hainan is not uniform. After the climax of the rainy season in November—somewhat later than on the adjacent mainland—the northeastern part of the island is cooled by the winter monsoon from the north. This introduced a dry season whose height is in February—again later than on the mainland. But the southern coast is debarred from these benign influences by the high mountains of the interior, and is constantly exposed to the hot, wet winds from the South China Sea. Accordingly this was the least acceptable part of the island to the Chinese, accustomed as they were to a semi-arid continental climate, or to the gentler warmth of the Yangtze region.[35]

No one, whether in north or south, could overlook the typhoons that raged in at intervals from the South China Sea. Notable examples from our period are the great wind of early autumn in 982, which destroyed the city gates, public offices, and most of the common houses of Ch'iung-chou,[36] and the disastrous typhoon which devastated the settlements around the new "Shore of Pearls" on the

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southern coast in the summer of 1082.[37] These fearful episodes did not escape the attention of the philosophical Su Shih, who commented on them in both prose and verse. Of the incessant winds and rain which descended on the island late in the year, cutting off all communications with the mainland, he wrote:

> Typhoons make chaos of the sea;
> The waters of heaven—an endless drizzle.[38]

He composed a rhapsodic description—or exhaustive poetic essay—on the typhoon theme. This well-known work had been translated into English in its entirety.[39] But a retranslation of the heart of the piece, omitting the introductory quotations from historical literature demanded of the poet by tradition, and also a concluding disquisition on relativity and transience—gnats can be dispersed by a mere puff of breath—in the manner of Chuang-tzu, may not be amiss here. The reader will note, imbedded in the midst of the prose narrative of the actual storm, an elegantly contrived nucleus in the old parallel style. It is, expectedly, full of archaic allusions to history and mythology, and employs a mixture of stereotyped symbols and exaggerated images. Still natural forces are eternal, and the fittest of old images properly survived:

> . . . one evening in mid-autumn, a certain visitor knocked on my door. Indicating the cloud formations, he informed me: "The fumes on the sea are very bad. And, although this is neither an ill nor a fine omen, a broken halo goes northward, drinking the sea, while pointing at red clouds hemming the sun that soar southward. That is the slow advance of the typhoon. Why are you not preparing for it?" Before he had finished speaking, the courtyard gateway became awesomely quiet. But withered leaves shook and shuddered, startled birds called frantically, terrified beasts shied in alarm.
>
> Suddenly—the quick dash of wild horses;
> Wildly—like six herons in fugitive flight:
> In violent fury it invaded sacks of earth;
> Raving and sucking it plundered a host of apertures.

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Then I went and sat in my house, and pulled my lappets together, my complexion altered. The visitor said: "It is not yet here. These are only the advance goadings of the typhoon." But shortly it flung the doors open, shattered the lattice-windows, brought down the tiles, and slashed at the building. It tumbled down immense stones, plucked lofty trees out by the roots.

Such energy would churn up the Po-hsieh; [40]
Its reverberations would shake the axis of the world.
One misdoubted if it were the fiery anger of P'ing-i,[41]
Who holds Yang-hou [42] in his grip, about to slaughter him.
It pounded up clear surges of a thousand feet,
Overturning these hills into dales of a hundred fathoms.
It swallowed up mud and sand in a single scoop;
It brought down collapsing banks with repeated blows.
It arrayed a myriad horses in dashing charge;
It burst a thousand armies, vying in pursuit.
Tigers and leopards were cowed and frightened;
Whales and leviathans were driven into flight.
It was like the battle of Chü-lu [43]—
The full sounds of its voice shook the ground.
It resembled the campaign at K'un-yang [44]—
A hundred myriads picked up in a single overthrow.

Accordingly my own thighs quivered and my hair stood on end—breath short and legs tottering. I shifted position nine times in the night, beating my couch; I took three divinations by day from the fatal tortoise. About three days later the storm died away. The fathers and elders came to condole with me; wines and sauces were arrayed in good order; I compensated the houseboys and rewarded the grooms. Our fears settled, we could discuss the rightening of now fallen plants and trees, the connecting of lately broken balconies and railings, the repairing of cracks and leaks in my thatched houses, the plugging of breaks and gaps in walls and fences. By now the mountain forests were quite still; the sea waves did not rise; what was in motion stopped of itself; what was sounding ceased of itself. The deep blue of the eaves of heaven was fathomless, and the dazzling light of the lonely moon floated by.[45]

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Su's confession of fear is believable, but it is also a stereotype: for hundreds of years the awesome typhoons of the coasts of south China had been celebrated in prose and verse.[46]

Although the solid physical world that Su Shih found around him in Hainan had strong resemblances to the adjacent mainland, the two were by no means identical. The usual comparative statement about Hainan, viewed as a part of Nam-Viet, was ". . . but even more so." Here, as well as there, the rocks—the ancient plutonics and modern volcanics alike—yielded objects both of curiosity and of utility. But the manner of holy boulders and fairy stones must be deferred until later in this book. The reason for this is that Hainan, even more than coastal Lingnan, was a repository of numinous minerals, and this subject deserves special and climactic attention. Suffice it to note here that some examples from the complement of curious and grotesque stones found in Hainan had analogues all over China.

Mountain pools southwest of the walled city of Ch'iung-chou yielded perforated nut-like pebbles, which were styled "brea-nut bead" (*kan-lan chu*).[47] Near the same town there was a stream in which lay a series of flat stones, two or three feet apart. These were used as stepping stones across the swift water: "should someone come by riding a cow, it will always gather up its four hoofs in a hurry, and cross over jumping and skipping. Sometimes it will have a mishap, and be taken off downstream. All observers take this to be a cause for laughter."[48] There were the always fascinating stones shaped like living beings—no doubt they had once been alive. Among them was the "Lion Stone" in the water off the shore at Tan-chou,[49] and the "Two Brothers Stones" in the same region, said to be the petrified remains of two fishermen.[50] Although such apparent petrifactions made sensible men ponder the mysteries of the unseen world, the Chinese in Hainan (except for the resentful exiles) were there for gain, and little inclined to profitless metaphysical speculation. There was, in any case, no Liu Tsung-yüan to meditate on the significance of such wonders.

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But there was gold in Hainan.[51] The ancient rocks of the central mountains contain the precious substance,[52] but the shore-based men of T'ang and Sung could hardly have mined these inhospitable crags, though they might occasionally obtain the metal from the reluctant aborigines, as Cortés and Pizarro did. But the shattered and water-worn remnants of the unattainable hard-rock gold could also be found in the lowland river sands, reduced to smooth flakes and nuggets.[53] These placers must have provided most of the gold demanded of the sweating magistrates of Hainan by the T'ang and Sung courts—and they could be found all around the island.[54] A particularly fine variety was the "gold flowers" sent to the capital from old Yai-chou in the north in early Sung times. The same name had already been used in a T'ang book for the gold leaf used to decorate the surface of an exquisite paper.[55] But there it surely refers to artificially prepared flakes, whereas the late tenth century gold of old Yai-chou, "having floriate ornamentation," [56] was probably a kind of crystalline gold in branching foliate form, nowadays called "dendritic gold." Yai-chou also had a luxury industry—the manufacture of golden chips for playing the game of *go*.[57] Hainan could indeed seem a golden island to the Hua men. I have elsewhere characterized it as "an unrecognized Golden Chersonese," [58] suggesting that it might be the Waqwaq of the medieval Arab sailors' tales, where even the apes wore collars of gold.[59]

In T'ang times, Yai-chou also sent silver to the northern court,[60] and tribute in the white metal was exacted in Sung times from the counties of Ch'iung, Tan, and Wan-an.[61]

Azurite, the most desirable blue pigment, was also a product of Yai-chou during the T'ang era.[62]

The coastal towns of Hainan, like coastal towns elsewhere in the empire, produced salt.[63] The "Sung History" informs us that the only product *sold* on the island—to the Chinese presumably—was salt. But the salt-makers were compelled to turn in much of their production to the local Chinese magistrates, who hoarded it, and forbade the producers to sell it elsewhere. This monopolistic practice

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resulted in the ruin of many of the salt-makers,[64] though doubtless it enriched the officials.

Although crystals of the tin ore cassiterite weather out of the mica schists of Hainan,[65] there is no evidence that the medieval Chinese exploited this mineral there, despite their need for it in the manufacture of bronze. Indeed, the unpleasant climate and the contumacious tribesmen prevented the extensive exploitation of most of the mineral resources of the central mountains.

The plant life of Hainan is both familiar and anamalous, primitive and modern, classic and exotic, varied and uniform. Some parts of it show clear relationships with the flora of mainland China, others with Formosa, others yet with the islands of Australasia.[66] It is full of curious contraries to amuse or astonish the visitor—pines and coconuts standing together, or the familiar, happy magpies nesting among coconut fronds.[67] Some of the southern fruit trees, domesticated, or partly so, on the mainland opposite, such as the lichee (*Nephelium*), the mangosteen (*Garcinia*), and the brea (*Canarium*), survive as wild trees on the island.[68] Accordingly the study of this remarkable vegetation and its specialized survivals is important in reconstructing the primeval monsoon forest which once extended through the provinces from Fukien into Vietnam, but has long since been destroyed.[69]

The Hainanese flora is not uniform all over the island. As the wayfarer climbs into the central mountains, the coconuts, arecas and bamboos gradually disappear, to be replaced by chestnuts and jaggery palms, while orchids droop in ever-increasing abundance from the limbs of the giant forest trees.[70] These altitudinal changes are complicated by latitudinal ones. The northern part of the island—its most familiar and acceptable part to the Hua immigrants—had all of the characteristics of a dry tropical savanna, since mountains beyond to the south cut off much of the rain-bearing winds which nourish the monsoon rain forest of the south.[71] Or again, there are transient conditions, as where the slopes have been burnt over by dry-rice farmers, and so are covered with a useless tangle of shrubs,

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without the beautiful hardwood trees of the climax forest that once distinguished them.[72]

But rather than try to make an exact subdivision of the floral zones of Hainan, suffice it here to take a sampling of their more interesting components. We note an abundance of such familiar and attractive genera as *Citrus, Cassia, Cinnamomum, Acacia, Magnolia* and *Ficus,* and such handsome forest trees as *Sterculia, Lithocarpus* and *Podocarpus*. There are many kinds of palm, including the coconut, areca, caryota, arenga and a number of fan-palms, along with far eastern chinquapins (*Castanopsis*), relatives of the persimmon (*Diospyros*), rose-apples with sweet-smelling leaves (*Eugenia*), and producers of aromatic resins (*Styrax*). There are many fine grasses (especially *Andropogon*), peppers, lianes, and rattans (especially *Clematis* and *Calamus*). But in addition to these reasonably familiar exotics, there is a bewildering variety of strange and unique plants for which no English names exist.[73]

Indeed Hainan is a museum of rare botanical specimens, a source of treasure for every visiting collector. As examples, we note two handsome rhododendrons named by Dr. H. F. Hance for the explorer Henry and his wife: *Rhododendron Henryi* and *Rhododendron Mariae,*[74] and a new oak with fragrant flowers, found by Henry along the water-courses of Hainan, romantically named *Quercus naiadarum*.[75] F. A. McClure has been the most prolific collector of Hainanese plants, and his expeditions in the 1920s yielded at least a hundred new species, including some of commercial interest, such as a new member of the group of trees that yield chaulmoogra oil (*Taractogenos hainensis*), a fine fig (*Ficus palmatiloba*), a new pandanus, a climbing bamboo, several new gingers, and much else.[76] He too was honored in botanical nomenclature, notably by *Diospyros Maclurei* (sic).[77]

Medieval Chinese visitors who were sensitive to natural beauty must have been dazzled by the floral displays they saw there. Hainan must then have been even more profusely covered with tropical flowers, ferns and fruits than it is now, glowing with white

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gardenias, red begonias, yellow hibiscus, and redolent of white and lavender jasmine, pink camellias, yellow *Desmos,* and clove- and carnation-scented *Strychnos.* Rare orchids, such as the maroon and green *Malaxis* and the lavender and salmon *Dendrobium* glowed gemlike in the shadowy ravines.[78] Unfortunately few early medieval visitors to the island cared about flowers, or were sufficiently knowledgeable and literate to set down their impressions about them. Although a late Sung gazetteer notes a red-petalled "iron tree flower," a vine whose leaves showed foretokens of coming gales, and sweet-flags growing along rock-strewn torrents and by marsh banks of ponds in Taoist and Buddhist monasteries—these last much admired in the tenth century by the dynasts of Southern Han.[79] But the typical poet, safe in his cooler, cultivated haven far to the north, was totally uninformed about such things. He took refuge in familiar rumors and cliches. Such a writer was the ninth century monk Wu-k'o, a friend of Chia Tao, whose described Ch'iung-chou for a friend leaving to assume command of the island's military government:

> Langurs and cranes lodge on the same branch,
> Orchids and bananas grow along the roads.[80]

A pleasant idyllic picture, but little more than an ancient stereotype of the far south, combining classical figures (cranes and orchids) with well-naturalized southern images (langurs and bananas). Moreover the poets of T'ang and early Sung times could not, for the most part, distinguish the plants of wild Ch'iung-chou from those of the near mainland, and they symbolized them collectively with conventional examples—the "wine tree," the meal of sago, or the red cardamom.[81]

An exception was the eighth century monk Chien-chen (Kăm-chin). The reverend pilgrim arrived by ship at Chen-chou on the south coast of Hainan in 749, and was welcomed with great honor by the local political agent, Feng Ch'ung-chai (Byung Dryung-trăăi), presumably a member of the widely influential aboriginal

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family of that surname. Chien-chen was sent off to Wan-an with a military escort of eight hundred men, and entertained regally there by Feng Jo-fang (Byung Nhak-p'ywang), the great pirate, who had been enriched by the loot of Persian argosies, and was served by whole villages of slaves.[82] The worthy monk continued on northward to Yai-chou, and there he set down the names of the native plants that impressed him most. These were the bitter cardamom,[83] the areca, the lichee, the longan, the edible banana,[84] the citron, the kanari,[85] and the jackfruit.[86] This list typifies all medieval Chinese lists in being devoted to economic plants, mostly those that yielded fine foods and aromatics. If the holy man admired the rare and lovely orchids and begonias of Hainan, or even noticed them, he did not record his impressions.

Following his example, let us look at the useful plants of medieval Hainan. Bamboos had long been familiar to the Chinese, who used them for every household purpose. But Hainan provided some strange varieties. One was a "long-jointed" gigantic bamboo that grew near the headwaters of the interior rivers.[87] Another was an edible species, small but tasty; unfortunately for gourmets it was uncommon.[88] Lianes and rattans were almost equally known and long since exploited in the southern provinces of the empire. Hainan was rich in them, and Chen-chou at the far end of the island produced rattan baskets in many colors sufficiently attractive to merit the demands of the imperial court.[89] The island was also noted for its capacious gourds and calabashes.[90] A kind of rush was gathered, dipped in oil, and used as a substitute for candles,[91] and it may be that the "branches of Ch'iung" (a name that suggests the branches of a fairy gem-tree as much as it does "branches from Ch'iung-chou") that were exported to Chekiang in Sung times were the branches of the Tallow Tree (*Sapium sebiferum*), which is known locally nowadays as "Ch'iung branch."[92] If so, they may well have been employed for a similar purpose.

Finally, the forests of Hainan abound in the handsome and costly

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hardwoods so much in demand for aristocratic furniture in the cities of the north. Among them are the dark red rosewood (*hua-li, Dalbergia benthami*),[93] a relative of such famous *Dalbergias* as the purple palisander and the rosy tulipwood of Brazil, the golden-streaked sissoo of India, and the striped violetwood of tropical America, the delight of European cabinetmakers. Some at least of these handsome woods have been among the "rosewoods" brought from Hainan and Annam in T'ang times,[94] but the extent of this exportation is unknown. Nor is it known whether the medieval Chinese cut the glossy reddish "aromatic banyan" (*hsiang jung: Azedirachta indica*),[95] or the hard red lichee wood—both native to Hainan—at all.

It is hard to say whether sapanwood—or brazilwood, as it is better known in the history of old European veneers—should be classified as a cabinet wood or as a dye wood. It had both uses; moreover its possession was evidence of wealth. This lustrous orange heartwood of the sapan was brought down to the coast from the remote grottoes of the Li.[96]

Even more treasured than the colored woods of Hainan were the scented woods and resins that were burned in enormous quantities in monasteries, palaces, and aristocratic houses. The ancient reputation of the island as a producer of incense materials is established by a text of the early post-Han period:

> The Island of Aromatics is located in Chu-yai County. All sorts of strange aromatics are produced on the island, though often times we do not know the names of them. The "thousand-year pine aromatic" can be smelled at ten *li*. It is also styled "ten *li* aromatic."[97]

I do not know whether such a fragrant pine actually occurs on Hainan, but it must be remembered that pre-T'ang texts do not always distinguish clearly between pine resins and such exotics as frankincense and myrrh. What are we to make, for instance, of a substance called in Chinese "Persian pine resin?"[98]

In any case, the most desired aromatic product of Hainan was garroo, or aloeswood (*Aquilaria agallocha,* or a closely related spe-

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cies). This was the diseased resinous heartwood of a forest tree. The Chinese styled it "sinking aromatic" (*ch'en hsiang*), because the best quality material was heavier than water.[99] By early Sung times it was being collected all around the island, although harvested only in the "deepest grottoes," that is, in the most inaccessible haunts of the Li tribesmen. The precious stuff was marketed in many forms —in pieces shaped like cocoons, like buds, like medicinal roots, or like mushrooms.[100] The most richly odorous variety—worth its weight in silver—[101] was reputed to come from Wan-an in the southeast. A Sung text explains this superiority as follows: Wan-an County is on the eastern slopes of the island, and therefore receives the energy of the morning sun directly. Accordingly, the garroo wood is saturated with potent *yang*-vapors, and smells sweetly, like lotus flowers, like plum blossoms, or like fermented honey.[102]

Su Shih was a great admirer of Hainanese aloeswood, and sent a fine chunk of it—a miniature sacred mountain—to his brother Tzu-yu for his birthday. He wrote of it as one of the incomparable products of Shore of Pearls:

> With the resistance of gold and the luster of jade,
> It might even be bone of crane or sinew of dragon.

By comparison, the aloeswood of Champa, long famous in China, is suitable only for fumigating gnats! [103]

In another poem Su Shih attacked the avarice and extravagance of local officials, using the reckless burning of costly aloeswood and onycha to symbolize their waste of the island's substance.[104] He cites the names of two magistrates in particular—men who had preceded him on the island by about twenty years—Chu Ch'u-p'ing and Liu I.[105] The last named of these was the author of a book about Hainan, the "Record of the Pacification of the Li" (*P'ing li chi*). I have found it a valuable source, despite the infamy of its author.

Hainanese aloeswood is still prized by the modern Chinese, as it is by the remnants of the Li people in the mountains, who regard it as a sovereign drug and apotropaion.[106]

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Another incense taken from the island was called *chan* (*dran*) aromatic, "in aspect like hedgehog skin or a fisherman's cape" (hairy or spiny looking?). This also seems to have been a variety of aloeswood,[107] from the same tree whose bark was used in T'ang times to make a "speckled ashy white paper" [108]—and indeed paper is still made from an *Aquilaria* in Hainan.[109] Like "sinking aromatic," it was prized far above the imported material: "The aromatics . . . [brought in] . . . argosy to Canton are surely inferior to the *chan* aromatic of Hainan." [110]

Still another incense from the shore of pearls which may well have been a variety of aloeswood was marketed under the name of "Chukar-spot Aromatic" (*che-ku pan hsiang*): "brownish black in color, with white maculations—point for point like the plumage on a chukar's breast. Its odor is particularly clean and agreeable." [111] It was akin, it seems, to the paradisaical perfume known as "P'eng-lai Aromatic"—but we shall have better cause to tell of this wonderful substance further along.

Finally, Hainan was noted for a copal or elemi extracted from a brea tree there (*Canarium copaliferum*). In Chinese it was called "*chan* (*chem*)-sugar aromatic," a name apparently cognate to Vietnamese *tram* "kanari." The element "sugar" refers to its granular appearance. It was supposed to blend well with other aromatics, and was also used to heal boils and carbuncles. Tan-chou was the chief producer.[112]

There was a certain ambiguity—or universality—about the role of all of these wood products in Chinese life—as there was about most natural products. They were at once incenses, drugs, and ornamentals. Consider the jequirity seed, or paternoster pea (names unknown to the Chinese, who called these red vine-grown berries "thinking-of-you seeds" *hsiang szu tzu*)—they were perfume-enhancers, used especially with camphor, but also love tokens and persuasive amulets.[113]

Galangal (*Alpinia officinarum*), known to the Chinese as "Kao-liang ginger," was another many virtued plant, being both a tasty condiment and a life-giving medicine. The most prized part was the

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rhizome, rich in vital essences. The reddish seeds, sometimes styled "red cardamom," were also prized for their pungent flavor.[114] Hainan had an abundance of it.

In short, foods and medicines were not absolutely distinguished, since all edibles have some effect, for good or ill, on the body. Among the edible plants of Hainan, the Chinese took most note of fruits, which were as abundant there as they were on the mainland —perhaps more so. A twelfth century writer summed them up this way:

> It is told in our times that there are a hundred and twenty southern fruit-plants for whose produce there are names. Half of these are the yield of trees or herbs of the mountains and countryside which langurs and macaques find tasty, but human beings make out to be "fruit" only by forcing the name. Therefore I am not able to recognize or record them all, but of those I recognize there are fifty-five kinds that may be eaten.[115]

A modern writer expresses the same sentiment when he observes that the fruit of *Diospyros Hainanensis,* a kind of wild persimmon, is eaten only by monkeys and by the Li.[116]

Among these many tropical fruits for which Hainan was noted, those that produced potable liquids were most famous, and their fame led to an erroneous assumption on the Chinese mainland. Tuan Ch'eng-shih, the eighth century writer and bibliophile, wrote:

> On the entire island of Shore of Pearls there are no springs from the ground. Instead of building wells the people look to the sap of trees for the purpose.[117]

The images of a waterless Hainan is something of a joke, but it is true that the world of plants favored thirsty men there. The island bore a "water-containing liane,"[118] a "wine tree" whose flowers were brewed into a pleasantly intoxicating drink,[119] and a fine palm, with leaves like the tails of phoenixes—that is, the coconut palm, whose "milk" was drinkable both fresh and fermented.[120]

Nowadays the coconut is most abundant near Wen-ch'ang in the

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northeast, where Su Shih spent his short exile,[121] and perhaps this was always so, but medieval opinion favored the quality of the coconuts of the far southern coast.[122] An ancient legend said that the coconut was the transformed head of a great king, hence suitable for the cups of the nobility—as was the delightful toddy it yielded.[123] The coconut-head theme—so obvious, so natural, and so ancient—survives among the Li people of Hainan today. The modern myth is too pleasant to omit—I cannot vouch for its antiquity:

> They received the cocoa-nut as the gift of this benign ancestress [the Li Mother] and prepare an intoxicating liquor from the green nuts which is highly appreciated by them. They account for its intoxicating qualities in the following manner. In the early days a war occurred between two hostile tribes. The victors not only defeated their adversaries but captured a number of prisoners. According to their custom they first made them drunk with rice wine and then led them forth to execution. They were beheaded, and, in a savage freak, their heads were planted;—when lo! a grove of cocoa-nut trees appeared which, in time, bore fruit in shape like the heads of these men; and—wonderful to relate! when broken open were found to be filled with a savory juice. With this they regaled themselves and put a quantity away in jars. Going to it a few days later they found that a remarkable change had taken place and instead of the mild, sweetish, watery milk, they discovered a delightful wine which exhilarated them on the first draught.[124]

A palm-fruit greatly esteemed in Hainan—as it was throughout the humid coasts of Indochina, was the areca—sometimes known as the betel-nut. A mild stimulant, condiment, and medicine,[125] it was required by the Chinese court as tribute in T'ang and Sung times.[126] Although betel-chewing was a common habit in Lingnan, the needs of this underpopulated region could hardly account for the fact that by the twelfth century the sale of areca nuts provided for about a half of the tax levies collected by the administration of Hainan, and made a very significant contribution to the maintenance of the Chinese government in Lingnan. It was said that production on the

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island far surpassed that of mainland Lingnan and Fukien, and that "without the profit from the areca, we could not manage this single island-county!" [127] The simplest explanation of this economic oddity is that many well-to-do Chinese in the north had come to require the nut as a drug—perhaps as a stimulant disguised as medicine, or an agreeable panacea.

Nam-Viet was the ultimate source of our Seville, Valencia, and Navel oranges, and such admirable citrus fruits as the golden tangerine.[128] Cultivated oranges were less common in early medieval Hainan than on the mainland, but the wild fruits were much admired there—such as the delicious sour-peel tangerines that grew close by the divine man-stone at Ch'ang-hua.[129] Su Shih himself praised the wild tangerines of the island:

> Hainan may lack the finest plants;
> But for wild fruit—we name the yellowling! [130]

For "finest plants" read also "fortunate plants" or "heaven-given plants"—in short, domesticated plants.

The story of the lichee is much the same. The tastiest of these pearly fruits were grown along the coast west of Canton. By the ninth century the ripening of the red shells was celebrated in Cantonese festivals,[131] and much later Su Shih wrote about the ripening of the lichee fruits as a spectacle he had learned to enjoy.[132] Later Sung opinion held that though the Hainanese lichees were comparable to the Fukienese, which were very highly rated, they could not equal the very best from the Zayton region.[133]

The island was also noted for the noble "Pāramitā fruit," which we call "jackfruit," [134] a large fragrant cousin of the breadfruit. It was planted in and about medieval Canton—notably around the temple of the powerful God of the South Sea in T'ang times—but grew wild on Hainan.[135]

Among the island's less glamorous edibles were a kind of sago taken from a palm styled "meal tree," [136] a mustard with huge

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seeds,[137] and the common yam, whose starchy tubers were a more important staple on Hainan than rice.[138]

All of these fine vegetables were familiar on the mainland. But the mangosteen and the lemon were two peculiarly Hainanese fruits. Both our word "lemon" and the Chinese word *li-meng* are thought to derive from a word of uncertain shape in unidentified medieval Indian vernacular. They are cognate to Arabic *leimūn,* Malay *limau* (whence Portuguese *limão*). A Latin form is almost as old as the Chinese: "Sunt praeterea aliae arbores fructus acidos, pontici videlicet saporis, ex se procreantes, quos appellant limones."[139] By the twelfth century this strange non-Chinese intruder was being widely cultivated in a region already famed for its native citrus fruits. But its foreign origin was recognized, and its acid taste commented on. It was by then an accepted comestible. Its juice was used to flavor soups, and the whole fruit was eaten, after cooking in honey, pickling in salt, and drying.[140] It appears that Su Shih was the first Chinese to notice the fruit, although he makes only a fleeting and facetious reference to it. A native Hainanese friend named Li Tun—presumably an aborigine—was popularly known as Li Meng-tzu. He tells how a friend was provoked to merriment when he heard a vendor crying *"li-meng tzu"* (lemon fruits) in the marketplace.[141]

The mangosteen is reputed to be one of the world's most delicious fruits:

> Cedant Hesperii longe hinc, mala aurea, fructus,
> Ambrosia pascit Mangostan et nectare divos—
> . . . Inter omnes Indiae fructus longe sapidissimus.[142]

Su Shih knew it too, and called the tree "Overseas Lacquer," presumably because it resembled the Chinese lacquer tree.[143] But, unlike the lemon, the mangosteen had already been known to the Chinese for several hundred years. The first source to mention this delicacy, as far as I know, is the *Ta yeh shih i lu,* written by Tu

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Pao in early T'ang times. This source says that early in the seventh century, Sui Yang Ti planted a hundred of these tropical fruit trees, apparently successfully, in his great Western Park.[144] In the ninth century its purple flowers were already being used by southern girls to color their rouge, and its sweet reddish fruits were compared favorably to the persimmon. Moreover, "It is very warming to the belly, and improves the skin and flesh."[145] The mangosteen is a relative of the yellow pigment-producing gambodge.[146] There are many species, of which at least two occur on Hainan—an orange-red flowered species that the island shares with the mainland, and a wild purple-flowered species that grows in the wilds of the Five Finger Mountains.[147]

Hainan is rich in animal life. It is a kind of outlying museum-sanctuary of the ancient fauna of Nam-Viet, most of which has been obliterated on the mainland. But that obliteration is fairly recent. Hainan is no Australia, to which the new animals of late Cenozoic times have been denied access by eons of separation by impassable stretches of water. Our island is close to the mainland, and its detachment from the stream of evolution in Southeast Asia, like that of Formosa and Japan, was ephemeral and recent, the result of crustal instability along the coast of south China.[148] If we allow for the specialized development of *all* island life, Hainan's unusual fauna is a reasonably true sample of that of ancient and medieval Lingnan. In T'ang and Sung times its luxuriant savannas and forests must have teemed with wild beats and birds. We might have hoped to see these transmuted into medieval moralities, grotesqueries or babooneries, but unfortunately the old Chinese records hardly ever take factual note of this faunal abundance. The following notes can do little more than suggest the proliferation of life there.

Many of the textual remains have a magical or supernatural flavor, reflecting the zoological ignorance of the reporters. A mountain called P'i-hsieh (Bi-zya) or possibly P'i-yeh (Bi-ya), in the Tanchou region, for instance, was said to have been named for a wasp-like insect. The traitorous insect did not disdain to inform the in-

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vading Chinese about malicious activities of the native people, when so ordered by a deity, also named Bi-zya.[149] This tale is preserved in twelfth-century texts, but presumably preserves an older belief. A much earlier record, from T'ang times, seems to tell of another invertebrate, though hardly a credible one:

> Whenever it is clear and rainless, the men of Shore of Pearls see distant hills in the midst of the sea, set out in regular array like a turquoise [lit. halcyon blue] screen, but unstable from east to west. They are nothing but centipedes (!), whose shrimplike antennae are four or five feet long. But there is nothing about these creatures to be regarded as freakish.[150]

Here was a wavering bluish barrier on the water horizon, interpreted as the waving antennae of countless many-legged centipede-like sea-creatures. The complacent acceptance of these indistinct, crepuscular monsters as genuine is almost as mysterious as the apparition itself.

Not all reported Hainanese crustaceans are so incredible. Crabs are an example. Crabs were much favored by the gourmets of medieval Nam-Viet, who liked to infuse their wine with the saline body fluids of the creatures. They regarded the yellow fat of some species, appropriately spiced, as a great delicacy, and the well-seasoned fat of a "scarlet crab" was used to fill a delicious pasty.[151] A "red crab" of Hainan—perhaps the same as the scarlet one—was admired for its colorful shell, spotted like a pard, which was cut into elegant wine-cups.[152] Most famous among the crabs of Hainan from medieval times until the twentieth century were the petrified ones. All sources call these famous fossils "crabs," but in the absence of better information I take it that they may be trilobites, or some other ancient marine creatures. Whatever their true identity, they have long been in demand among the Chinese as a powerful drug. In T'ang times these stony crustaceans were ground up to make an infallible cure for ulcerations and skin lesions.[153] Sung encyclopedists speculated that they were somehow transformed from once living creatures, and also wondered about the medicinal virtues of "stone

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shrimps." But some men of those times said that these fossils were "mutations of sea foam"—but perhaps we should read their words as "mutations of sea dainties."[154] Nowadays they are found chiefly in the vicinity of the Muslim village of Sam-a on the island's south coast,[155] but the medieval texts are not so explicit about the locality.

Among the mollusks of Shore of Pearls surely the pearl oyster deserves most to be noticed. The pearls of Hainan had been noted since at least the third century when the island was reputed to be a producer of the prized magical jewels known as "luminous moon pearls."[156] Later, in T'ang times, the poet Chang Chi (Tyang Dzyek) rejoiced in the generosity of a native Hainanese, visiting the mainland, who pressed pearls on everyone he met.[157] In early Sung times they were regularly gathered for the delectation of the aristocrats of the capital city.[158] But even if we ignore the implications of the name "Shore of Pearls," the reputations of the island as a producer of pearls goes back at least to the second century B.C.—and this reputation is still alive in modern times. The official gazetteer of the island tells of a thirteen-year-old girl of the Han period—a notable example of feminine virtue. When customs officers on the mainland discovered pearls being smuggled in the family luggage, the devoted child, assuming (mistakenly) that her mother was the felon, took the blame on herself. The text, citing the incident as a moral lesson to all good girls of the Ch'ing period, adds that Hainan "abounds in pearls."[159]

Less important to us perhaps, but greatly valued in ancient Chinese were the white cowrie shells with purple maculations that were gathered for profit by the coast-dwelling natives of Hainan.[160] The use of cowries as a medium of exchange survived here centuries after the custom had disappeared from the old Chinese homeland.[161] The Sung court of the tenth and early eleventh centuries continued to require their submission as tribute. Presumably they were used for ornamental purposes, since the tribute lists describe them as "purple cowrie leaves."[162] "Leaves" is a term regularly applied to thin, flat objects, such as small saucers. It may be that these tribute shells were cut to make little wine cups.

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The edible octopus of the warm coastal waters of Nam-Viet was not particularly noticed in Hainan, as far as I can tell,[163] but Su Shih commented on the local squid or cuttlefish. This slippery animal, which "spits out inky water to conceal itself," was called "crow[-black] fish" or "sea crow" or "crow outlaw."[164]

The fish of early medieval Hainan are buried in obscurity, although the island is and was rich in the "primary fish"—that is, those that live in fresh water, particularly the cyprinoid fishes. The rest of Southeast Asia west of Wallace's Line has them in equal abundance: they spread to Shore of Pearls by fresh water streams in relatively modern times, when the island was still attached to the mainland.[165] But angling seems not to have tempted the unfortunate Chinese exiles. As for salt-water fishes—surely they all took notice of the swarms of cicada-winged flying fish that skimmed the blue waves off the south coast of the island.[166] But their sentiments are not on record.

There was the same melancholy indifference to the fantastic terrestrial reptiles of Shore of Pearls. A flying member of the genus *Draco* ornamented the misty forests, along with other showy lizards —green ones and white spotted ones—and the dragon was not the only glider among them. There were also red snakes and white-striped snakes.[167] Surely a few men of the Hua, however tremulous, must have ventured into their forest haunts, and surely some others saw the great pythons whose mainland cousins were esteemed sources of valuable medicines, and surely some one did not miss the beautiful green and gold bamboo snake.[168] The most exalted Hainanese reptiles appear, not surprisingly, in the story of Su Shih. A twelfth-century tradition held that the poet enjoyed the sight of a white dragon in a sweet spring near his home in Hainan —its back and tail glittered like silver.[169] There are reports of other numinous reptiles on the island: the county of Wan-an respectfully submitted a tortoise with six pupils (or eye balls?) to the Sung court in 993.[170] Doubtless this prodigy was taken to be a sign of Heaven's favor.

But it was the sea-going reptiles, many of them commercially

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profitable, that received the most attention from the Chinese. Essence of green turtle, a gourmet delicacy, was in great demand in the northern fleshpots,[171] but most prized of all was tortoiseshell, tipped from the hawksbill turtle, to decorate the bodies and household furniture of the great families of T'ang and Sung. The shells brought from the windy beaches near Chen-chou in the south were deemed the best, indeed not inferior to those imported from the Indies.[172]

It is almost incredible that the wonderful mammalian life of Hainan should have been ignored by early visitors to the island—an exception was Su Kuo, the son of Su Shih, who mentions the flying squirrels which call in the dark of the moon.[173] But that they were mostly ignored can be attributed to the shy and often nocturnal habits of the majority of mammals, and also to the fear of most Chinese of straying into the forests, where they faced danger from lurking aborigines as well as from the beasts themselves.

Still, the literate exile could find appropriate comments to make on the mammals of Hainan. It was a cliche to remark on the absence of tigers from the island, but although "The Book of Han" stated that it "possesses neither tiger nor horse" [174] a Sung gazetteer comments, "nowadays, though that land lacks tigers, horses have proliferated abundantly." [175] This must have been a very recent change in the tenth or eleventh century, since a ninth-century source says that there are neither horses nor mules in Hainan.[176] But of the more spectacular native fauna there is hardly a word. We would expect cries of astonishment or even rapture at the excellent kinds of deer—muntjac, thamin and sambar [177]—and other strange and wonderful animals that Hainan shares with the "Tropical" or "Malayan" faunal area of Indochina, such as the black gibbon, the douc langur,[178] the palm civet, a giant squirrel, and many special kinds of bat. Hardly less noteworthy are the animals that the island has in common with south China generally—such creatures as the mongoose, the clouded leopard, and the "wicked" pangolin, whose scales are valued by the modern tribesmen as anti-demoniac.[179] Even animals common to all China and much of Asia—such as the macaque,

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the badger, the otter, the wild pig, the leopard cat, and the Asiatic black bear—are hardly noticed by the Chinese, except all together hugger-mugger as "ferocious beasts." The medieval texts seem also to be silent about a most remarkable mammal—Swinhoe's whale.[180] Swinhoe himself, its discoverer, described it as follows:

> This large Chinese Rorqual appears to spend its winter in the Seas about Hainan and in the Gulf of Tonquin. It must there produce its young; for in May it is seen with its calf in the Namoa Straits (near the port of Swatow), and remains in that neighborhood and about the Formosan channel till the north-easters set in at the end of October, when it wends south-westerwards again.[181]

Despite this neglect (which future textual discoveries may repudiate), the word "whale" itself, without more specific reference, played a prominent part in the imagery of the meagre medieval literature of Hainan, as we shall presently see.

Hainan was and is a paradise of tropical birds.[182] Undoubtedly the island shares with a few spots in Indochina the distinction of preserving a great variety of the avian life-forms that once populated most of tropical China, but are now rare or extinct on the mainland. To see the birdlife of Hainan is to see the aerial life of Canton as it has not been seen since the days of Chang Chiu-ling and Han Yü. There one may still watch the Spotted Snake-eagle in the liquidambars and figs; the Spine-tailed Swift, builder of prized edible nests in caves on the islets off the southern coast; [183] green, gold and crimson barbets sparkling in the fig-trees of the interior forests; sunbirds and flowerpeckers, themselves like stars and blossoms; fruit-pigeons clad in metallic hues; red minivets and black drongos; gaudy parakeets and halcyon kingfishers; green bulbuls and yellow wagtails; and a host of others.[184] For the surviving literary sources this bazaar of birds did not exist—the erne's eyrie did not excite the military governors of Hainan, exotic leks and loomeries held no appeal for them.

A notable exception is the blue-green halcyon kingfisher. Since its feathers were greatly desired for jewelry by the Chinese, there was a

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brisk trade in bodies and feathers, both in Hainan and on the mainland [185]—a commerce that put the species in danger:

> The southern quarter abounds in rare birds—none of them the subject of inquiry by "princelings" [Confucian gentlemen]. Moreover since the laws which prohibit their capture and collection are very strict, I myself have been unable to become familiar with most of them. When I have unexpectedly seen such a one in somebody's house, or heard something unusual about one, I have recorded it, so as to complete [our picture] of universal creation.[186]

This twelfth-century reference to bird-protection laws may refer specifically to the ban on gathering halycon kingfishers which was in effect in 1107, when that species seemed to be endangered,[187] although the language suggests that other species—perhaps all in danger of over-exploitation—were also protected. The passage is also interesting in that it states baldly that exotic birds, unknown to the sages of antiquity, unrecorded in classical books, could hold no interest for modern, educated gentry.

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The pious ones of Plymouth, who,
reaching the Rock, first fell upon
their own knees and then upon the
aborigines.

WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS, quoted by Henry Watterson
The Louisville Courier-Journal (July 4, 1913)

3 Aborigines

If Shore of Pearls, from the point of view of general history, was an island of mystery to the early Chinese, its ethnic composition was equally enigmatic. Even modern knowledge does not allow us to reconstruct more than a very generalized picture of prehistoric human life on the island. Presumably, some kind of men could have walked across to Shore of Pearls on dry ground in the Pleistocene

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period, just as the "Java Ape Man" (formerly *Pithecanthropus*) and "Solo Man"—both now sometimes styled *Homo erectus*—trod a land-path to Java in that remote age, and as *Homo sapiens* made the journey to Borneo only forty thousand years ago. But if there was a contemporary of these primordial humans in Hainan, his bones have not yet been found. Some Hainanese Stone Age sites of a much later period have been surveyed. They yield many shouldered stone axes, implements which also typified a Neolithic "jungle culture" widespread in southernmost China and in Vietnam.[1] A characteristic gritty pottery, apparently contemporary with the beginning of the Chou kingdom in the Yellow River valley, has also been found, as well as a ceramic ware stamped with geometric figures coincident with the age of Han.[2] This tells us very little indeed about the human inhabitants of the island up to the time when the first Hua men to brave the strait observed them. At most, we can surmise only that their culture was very similar to the aboriginal cultures of the adjacent mainland.

Information provided by written Chinese sources from the ancient "classical" period can be summarized in a few phrases, as we have already seen. My chief purpose in this book will be to reconstruct the Chinese image of the native peoples of Shore of Pearls as it was emerging and assuming focus in Sung times. Before turning to this problem, a simplified view of the modern ethnographic picture is in order.

The true aborigines of Hainan—if in fact such they are, since they may have displaced earlier inhabitants, as the Celts displaced the Beaker People in Britain—are the men who now live on the slopes of the Li mu Range in the center of the island. They are called Li in the Mandarin dialect (Middle Chinese Lei), and are variously known in other tongues as Loi, Le, Lay, Moi, and even (it is alleged) Dli, B'li, S'lay, B'lay, and M'lay.[4] The modern French authority Savina calls them Dai.[5] However named, these old-timers are divided among several "grottoes." Among these, the Li of the "White Sand Grotto" have been named the "purest."[6] These (pre-

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sumably) ancient settlements are mostly separated from those of their parvenue congeners by the summits of the Li mu Mountains.[7] The latter tribes, which include the Mei-fu Li, the Ki, and the vigorous, progressive Ha (as some observers claim), extend down almost to the southern coast. It is thought that they came to Hainan later than the Li peoples of the more northerly slopes, and that they came by sea directly to the south coast of the island,[8] rather than across from the Luichow Peninsula. Although there is no question of certainty, they may well have arrived later than the period covered by this book.

The language of the Li allies them with the Thai peoples of Southeast Asia, but the degree of affinity is uncertain. One plausible hypothesis puts their dialects in a transitional group between the Thai and the Indonesian languages, with remnants surviving also on the mainland.[9]

A truly Thai people, known as Ong-Be, live about the Lin-kao (Limko) region on the northwest coast;[10] a group of Man immigrants,[11] related to the mainland Yao, occupy the ridges below the White Sand Grottoes of the Li;[12] a small body of Muslims, whose language reveals them to be descended from ancient Chams come from what is now Vietnam, has a unique community at Sam-a on the south coast.[13] Most of the accessible coast line all around the island has been settled by Chinese from Fukien. They are locally known as Hoklo, and constitute the most numerous ethnic group of Hainan.[14] There is also a sprinkling of Vietnamese on the southern coast; a group of ancient North Chinese, said to be descended from Sung immigrants, in the Yai-chou (old Chen-chou) region; and settlements of Chinese Hakka adjacent to the Ong-Be and Man in the northwest, and in the foothills of the southeast. Finally there are Cantonese officials and other such gentry, and some Tanka boat-dwellers in the coastal waters.[15]

This modern picture appears rather more complicated than the ethnic or linguistic map of Hainan at the end of the eleventh century, even granting a comparative paucity of information for the

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earlier period. If our Sung map were based on the classification of Fan Ch'eng-ta, we should discern only six groups over the whole of Nam-Viet. These would be 1) such tribes as the Nung and Huang, the most civilized and powerful of the aborigines, presumably Thai-speakers, in the "Bridle and Halter counties" (*chi mi chou*) of Yung-chou; 2) the Yao, descendants of the sacred dog P'an-hu, in Jung[a]-chou; 3) the Lao (in the narrow sense) in remote mountains of Kwangsi; 4) the Man (in the narrow sense), closely allied to the Lao; 5) the Li, especially in Hainan; and 6) the Tan, boat-dwellers, fishers and pearl-divers.[16] Sometimes the term "Man" was applied to all of these peoples indiscriminately.

Of these six ethnic groups, three at most lived on Hainan in early medieval times (there were also the Hua Chinese of course). These were the Li, the Tan, and perhaps the Yao.[17] All of these groups may still be found on the island. It must be assumed that the other groups that live there today did not immigrate before the Southern Sung period at the earliest.

The bulk of the native population—we are totally ignorant of the size of this population—was Li. But in medieval times, the Li were by no means confined to Hainan Island. In the T'ang period they were also well established all along the mainland coast west of Canton, and in northern Vietnam—the Annam of T'ang times. Both on the mainland and on the island they troubled the T'ang regime greatly, as when they rebelled in the Hanoi area because of onerous taxes and killed the Chinese Protector of Annam.[18] Presumably these forest monsoon shores were their home even before they reached the island of Hainan, but at what time that passage took place, and whether it was very early by dry land or much later by sea, we cannot now tell.[19] Their ethnic name Li was easily converted into a clan name or surname by the Chinese invaders, so that prominent men of their communities appear in Chinese texts styled "Li so-and-so." The same was true of other non-Chinese peoples, notably the aristocratic Huang of the mainland grottoes. Great luster was shed of this ancient name in the year 980, when the rem-

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nants of the T'ang protectorate in Annam, precariously preserved, were finally dissolved, and Li Huan (Vietn. Lê Hoàn) declared the independence of the people of Vietnam under his glorious reign of "Heavenly Blessing" (Mand. T'ien-fu; Vietn. Thiên-phûc),[20] surely a prestigious beacon for the Li peoples everywhere. A Chinese book written at the beginning of the twelfth century tells of men in all of the counties of Hainan who called themselves by the surname Li, but whose aboriginal ancestry could not otherwise be detected. The same source, however, reports that the most common surname among the aborigines themselves was Wang[21]—a fact that needs explaining—and another states that "half of the Li men are capable of Han speech."[22] But these assertions may well apply only to the tribesmen of the lowlands and foothills. Even so, the degree of Li acceptance of Hua customs since T'ang times must have been remarkable.

The Li have a tradition of the origin of their race, but this has not come down to us in a form earlier than that it had assumed in the Sung period:

> There is a tradition among the older men that the thunder brooded a serpent's egg in these very mountains. This gave birth to a *fei* (*pěi*) which was called "Li Mother." She ate the mountain fruits for fodder and nested in forest trees for dwelling. After long years she brought a Man [tribesman] across the sea from Chiao-chih [Vietnam] to collect aromatics, and then contracted a wedding with him. Their sons and grandsons were very numerous, and these went on to open up the mountains and seed them for provisions.[23]

The doubtful word *fei* "ornate" seems to be corrupt—it is sometimes used for its homonym *fei* "cockroach; flying insect." In post-Sung versions of the myth the word is replaced by "woman."[24] A number of modern versions of this legend have been recorded.[25] One reporter comments:

> This unique mother Eve is now the chief object of worship among the people, and is known as the Fairy Grandmother of the Lees.

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> The corner behind the door is held sacred to her, and may not be put to ordinary use as a receptacle for brooms, hoes, rakes, or other articles and implements.[26]

The myth of the ancestral dog-hero is also found on the island now, and has apparently penetrated beyond the Yao tribes whose special origin-myth it is, to become locally fused with the Mother myth of the Li.[27]

Doubtless Chinese views about the character of the Li people did not coincide with the Li's opinion of themselves. A tenth-century source states that the aborigines, "knowing nothing of good manners or laws, must be subdued by authority," and adds that they thread the teeth of murdered wayfarers on necklaces as proof of their valor and daring."[28] Another Sung source, presumed to be somewhat later, alleges that the natives "are simple and uncultured, but fear the law and do not like to commit banditries."[29] It must be supposed that this milder evaluation reflects the progress of Chinese pacification or assimilation of the foothill villages during the eleventh century—as already suggested by the usage of surnames.

By Sung times the Chinese were beginning to make a distinction between "wild Li" and "tame Li":

> Those who have submitted and are attached to our county and township administrations are the "tame Li." Those who dwell in the mountain grottoes, neither disciplined by us nor under the corvée are the "wild Li."[30]

This became the usual distinction, though one of the standard twelfth-century sources makes a rather different one:

> The wild Li, though simple and straightforward, are brutish and aggressive. They do not accept impositions or affronts—still, they are not, after all, an affliction on our people. But the tame Li, for the most part, are faithless folk from Hu, Kuang, and Fu-chien: they are sly, cruel, misfortune-bringing rascals. While outwardly they present their taxes to the officials, secretly they contract with the wild

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> Li to invade governmental lands and roam about plundering travellers on their way.[31]

This report makes an interesting point in stating bluntly that the so-called "tame Li", who we might assume to be natives partially adapted to lowland Chinese ways, were in fact recent immigrants, and perhaps criminal fugitives and revolutionaries from the provinces south of the Yangtze—in other words, aborigines similar to the Hainanese Li who had succeeded in fleeing the Chinese punitive and occupation forces in those mainland areas. In this Chinese view —which has a strong official flavor to it—these aliens were devoting themselves to teaching the simpler aborigines of Hainan how to make trouble for the Chinese administrators around the shore line, laying the foundations for successful insurrections in the future. This development, like the spread of Chinese influence beyond the coastal stockades, must have been primarily an eleventh-century phenomenon—the aftermath of the consolidation of Sung power in all of the southern provinces.

Since the earliest contacts between the Hua and the Li peoples, the Hua have said that the Li—like the other Man tribesmen—have inhabited "grottoes" (*tung*), a word ordinarily applied to caverns deep in limestone mountains. By the beginning of the Sung period at least, the sense of the word had been extended to mean "barbarian settlements deep in defiles and remote mountain recesses,"[32] if not literally in grottoes. So a passage in the "History of Sung" tells of "the Li outlaws . . . in their grottoes and hollows,"[33] and another tells that the Li "hold the grottoes and hollows."[34] An eleventh-century text tells that the Chinese ". . . are rarely able to enter their nests and hollows,"[35] adding that when the Chinese make trouble for them the Li poison the streams upon which the lowlanders depend for fresh water.[36] Here the ancient image is confounded with the image of tree-dwellers, nesting like birds—a reference to the pile-dwellings of some southern aborigines, a custom not confined to the Li.[37] This mixed picture appears again in a Sung gazetteer which states that a millennium earlier, the Han conqueror

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Ma Yüan, attempting to introduce the use of ceramic tiles among the Li, found that the benighted savages would accept only very light ones, which they could carry up the tree trunks that they used as ladders to their cliff-side homes.[38] Probably the persistence of the idea that the southern barbarians were cave-dwellers echoes both an archaic fact—that some of the ancient peoples of China lived in caves—and an old myth—that the ancestors of the aborigines emerged from primordial caves, symbols of cosmic eggs.[39] This in turn would explain the use of the word *tung* "grotto" with a clan or tribal name prefixed to it as a mode of expressing ethnic identity. For instance, the term "Grotto of the Huang" denoted the home ground of the Huang tribesmen. Perhaps this means also that the first Huang emerged from a specific ancestral cave, as did each of the Man tribes. At any rate, *tung* continues to be used today for the ethnic subdivisions of the Li.[40]

As for such houses as the Li did build, the Sung sources tell us that they were chiefly of "floss-grass and bamboo" [41]—that is to say, they were thatched and bamboo-walled. It appears that they were not much different from the bamboo structures with low thatched eaves, coming almost to the ground, that their descendants build today.[42] A twelfth-century source adds that their settlements were stockaded.[43] Presumably they were small fenced villages.

The Li were no mere wild foragers of the forests, but sophisticated agriculturalists:

> They are observant of the procreation of birds and beasts,
> They are familiar with the airs of spring and autumn,
> They divine the maturation of yam and taro,
> They chronicle the annals of heaven's patterns.[44]

In short, they are expert in animal husbandry, meteorology, agriculture and astronomy. The T'ang monk Chien-chen noted that the rice fields of Hainan were prepared in the tenth lunar month (chiefly our November) and harvested in the first month (mostly

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our February), adding that there were two annual rice harvests.[45] But it is not clear whether he is writing of the Chinese immigrants or of the aborigines.[46] It is to be presumed that crops were grown both in flooded fields and in burnt clearings in the forest, as they are today.[47]

Hainan is nowadays noted for its rather odd varieties of domestic animals, especially its tiny ponies and albino water-buffaloes,[48] but the early medieval residents of the island saddled and bridled the common Chinese yellow cows, and taught them to pace and gallop, as men did horses elsewhere.[49]

The Li apparently had an abundance of these and other animals, and were not troubled by rustlers: "Though oxen and goats cover the countryside, no one dares to claim one falsely . . ."[50] Presumably they were not eaten, but used only for transport and to work the fields—and possibly their milk had a place in the Li diet. Today the Li prepare the paddy fields by driving their yellow cows and water buffaloes through them, creating a dung-fertilized quagmire.[51]

The most valued quality of a Li woman was her ability to cook. If a girl could prepare a tasty batch of water snakes and yellow eels, she was certain of a good marriage.[52] Indeed these aboriginal ladies seem to have provided a rich menu for their fortunate husbands, from which the Chinese cuisine may gradually have profited. Su Shih's son Su Kuo wrote some revealing verses on this attractive topic:

Coconut wine, white as qaimaq,
"Silver skin," red as amber:
Coarse and crude, these make these wild savages drunk—
Lay all the neighborhood elders low.

Yam and taro brought back by every man,
Bin and kitchen filled richly every day—
But malaria collects in the dales of Li Mother,
Mists intrude on the clumps of chrysanthemum flowers.

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> The Tan by the sea give us arc-shell and blood-clams as delicacies,
> The slaves in our garden give us leeks and cabbage for provisions.
> Areca nuts replace a tea-leaf beverage,
> Cotton wards off the frosty winds . . .[53]

Displayed here—crude fare to the delicate northerner—are milky coconut juice (apparently fermented), and, in the second verse, a wine made from the silvery bark of a tropical tree. Yam and taro were aboriginal staples: Su Shih regarded them as supplements needed only because of an inadequate rice harvest—a normal Chinese view.[54] Exotic shellfish were available in abundance, and ordinary garden greens too. No tea—instead, the stimulating areca nut. No silks or linens—but cotton, still a little strange to the Chinese.

Yams were mashed to make cakes,[55] the areca nut was savored with lime, prepared from limestone or clam shells and spread on a leaf of the betel pepper.[56] The tasty mollusks gathered by the Tan boat people were supplemented by stranger flesh: flies, gnats and earthworms were cooked in bamboo tubes. (These delicacies were also eaten in the foreign quarter of Canton.) The native diet made much use of sugar, honey, camphor and favored delicious but foul-smelling fish dishes, doubtless fermented, which remind us of the fermented fish sauces of the modern Vietnamese.[57]

For cooking and serving their barbaric delicacies the Li "m̄ake kettles and pots of earth, and employ gourds and calabashes."[58]

They also made excellent cloth of cotton, "wild hemp" (*Helicteres angustifolia*), and simal. These fabrics of plant fiber are characterized collectively in Chinese texts as "linens" (*pu*). But, unlike the Chinese women, the Li women did not raise silkworms. The cotton of Hainan is sometimes unambiguously named, and its many brightly colored varieties were much admired by the Chinese,[59] but the "tree floss"—our "silk cotton"—frequently mentioned as woven into blue and red fabrics by the Li women, seems to have been simal rather than a perennial cotton, and indeed, this fiber, so difficult to weave and usually considered suitable only for stuffing quilts and pillows, is still spun and woven by the Li tribeswomen.[60] Then

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as now these women were noted for their many-colored ponchos and skirts, and orange head-cloths, both made of cotton or hemp. The men's costume appears to have been a mere breech-clout or sampot.[61] The Li also made a muster by unravelling colored silk damasks acquired somehow from the Chinese and reweaving it with inserted decorations of "tree floss."[62] They made a kind of tapa from bark,[63] and Li housewives wove fine mattings and curtains from native vines, especially a "wild deer vine." The best were colored with rich scarlet, and ornamented with plant and animal figures in many colors.[64]

As for personal ornamentation, the wild Li drilled their teeth,[65] wore topknots[66] adorned with combs and other objects of silver, copper or tin.[67] Their women wore silver ear-plugs, with pendants falling to their shoulders[68]—perhaps similar to the ear-plugs of modern Li women, from which hang silver chains.[69] They went barefooted,[70] the ultimate index of savagery from the Hua point of view.

All the old sources comment on the fine tattooed skins of the Li women. When a girl became nubile, her friends and relatives came to congratulate her on her attractive tattooing, and to drink wine. The tattooing (called "embroidering the face") was done in blue on the cheeks and neck, in delicate floral and "moth" patterns. The elaboration of the tattooing was proportional to the wealth and status of the girl's family, and only slave girls were not tattooed at all.[71] The custom survives today, but the meanings of the modern geometric designs have been forgotten.[72] Probably the blue dye they used then is the same as the one they use now—an extract of the "conehead" or "horse indigo" (*Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*).[73]

"Bow and knife never leave their hands"—so say the Sung sources of the Li.[74] Li knives were a foot or two long, with short hilts of three of four inches, decorated with wrappings of fine spotted rattan, and terminating in a long, finial-like strip of white horn "like a sparrowhawk's tail" (or "like an owl's tail," or "like a chicken's tail").[75] The Li men loved their bows, which were made of bamboo

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or other wood, and not very large. They were strung with rattan or bamboo fiber, and shot three-foot featherless arrows with five-inch leaf-shaped heads. These did not travel a great distance, but were always fatal. These simple weapons were said, surprisingly, to resemble Japanese bows, but to be shorter. The Li warriors also wore casques woven of rattan.[76]

> By and large it is usual for the Li to be very suspicious. When a stranger comes, they are not quick to interview him. They watch the stranger through a crack, motionless and grave. Only later will they despatch a slave to fetch a linen mat, and the guest may sit on this mat. Some time passes; then the host comes forth to see him, but they do not exchange a single sentence. Shortly wine is set forth. To begin, the visitor is given a taste of some foul and evil-flavored thing. If the visitor eats it passively, without hesitation, he [the host] rejoices and follows it up with beef and wine. If not, he sends the visitor away. His kin then gather together, and hammer on drums, and sing and dance. After three cupfuls they ask that they may do away with precautions, but still keep bow and sword at the sides of their persons. By nature they are fond of killing someone in a vendetta—this they call "breaking off" (*yao*). Should one meet the adversary of his own kith and kin, he straightway fetters and binds him, and demands beef and wine and silver vases—this they call "redeeming his fate." At wedding or marriage they use a broken arrow for a pledge. When itinerant merchants are at their house, some of the Li daughters are unchaste, but their fathers and mothers perversely boast of this to their neighbors and the villagers. When one of their relatives dies, they kill a cow as a sacrifice, but they do not weep. They take no rice, but eat only the flesh of a wild [?] ox. As for their funerals, they carry the sarcophagus along on poles, preceded by a man with chicken eggs, which he throws to the ground. Where they do not break it lucky ground.[77]

Such were the basics of Li social custom, as seen by the Chinese.

All Chinese sources agree that the Li people treated sickness by supernatural means rather than with medicines: they called in shamans, and cooked dogs and goats to offer to the spirits. In 975, per-

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turbed by this information, the benevolent Sung court ordered that herbals and books of medical prescriptions be distributed among these ignorant savages.[78]

An important part of Li ceremonial life was a great slaughter of sacrificial cattle to remedy a serious illness. Su Shih has reported it:

> For a rich person they will kill as many as ten or more oxen. If he dies, nothing further is said. But if luckily he does not die, they always ascribe virtue to the shaman. They treat the shaman like a physician, and the cattle like medicine. If meanwhile he should drink a drug, the shaman invariably says that the spirits are angered, and cure is no longer possible. So his kith and kin all undertake to get rid of drugs and forbid physicians, not allowing them inside their doors—but all is over when man and cattle are both dead. This land produces the aromatic that sinks in water [aloeswood]. This aromatic can only be obtained by trading cattle to the Li for it, and the Li people sacrifice all of the cattle they acquire to their ghosts—not one escapes. Then men from the Middle Kingdom use the aromatic that sinks in water as an offering to the Buddha, and to ignite for the high gods (*ti*) in hope of good fortune. This is nothing but burning the flesh of the oxen! How can one get good fortune in this way?" [79]

This last sentence expresses Su's antipathy—Buddhist in character—to the taking of life, even for pious purposes.

The Li of Hainan, like their congeners on the mainland, manufactured the erotic charm called *ku* by the Chinese. We do not have an account of their formulae, but these probably did not differ much from those attributed to the natives on the opposite coast in the twelfth century. There the sometimes poisonous concoction was prepared in a secret nocturnal ritual by naked women with loosened hair, as it is in Kwangsi today.[80]

Despite the great authority of the Ch'an master Hui-neng and the honor given to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra in Nam-Viet in T'ang times, Buddhism was still not widely spread outside the larger towns and monasteries even as late as the eighth century.[81] Indeed we have it on good authority that there were no Buddhist monks in

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the smaller counties at all. A ninth-century tale will serve as an illustration:

When a letter of amnesty arrived in a rural town, a man was assigned to pose as a monk and take part in the ceremony of promulgation, as was customary. It happened that when an amnesty was declared upon the accession of Chao Tsung in 889, there was no genuine monk in Yai-chou to participate in the rite. The man assigned the job refused to do it, on the grounds that it had been his duty on a previous occasion—it could not be his turn again so soon.[82]

Yet despite the scarcity of monks on Hainan in the ninth century there were many Buddhist believers there, at least in the Ch'ang-hua region, if we can believe a twelfth-century source whose author takes it for granted that the custom of wearing heavy rings that distend the earlobes among the Li and other "foreigners," was done in emulation of the Buddha.[83] Perhaps in the intervening period the religion had been diffused among the semi-civilized aborigines near the Chinese settlements.

For music, the medieval Li had the sound of drums, and of the melodious mouth organs (*sheng*) that were also typical of the peoples of continental Southeast Asia.[84] They also used little three-eared bronze gongs for signalling.[85]

An immigrant aboriginal group was settling along the shores of Hainan by Sung times. They were the Tan, whose name was as old as the Han period. In the pre-Sung centuries it had been applied to peoples in Szechwan, Hunan and Kiangsi. The ethnic identity of these far-flung Tan-folk cannot be affirmed with certainty. By T'ang times at any rate men known by this name were dwelling along the southernmost coasts of the empire, where they dived skilfully for pearls and various sea-dainties.[86] The ninth-century name "Dragon Householders" was aptly applied to them. Whatever their origins, the migration of the medieval Tan to the strange shores of Hainan began early in Sung times, and by the middle of that era they were living intermingled with the Li in the remote county of Wan-an,[87]

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as they had in Lei-chou across Hainan Strait in T'ang times.[88] It was probably in late T'ang or early Sung times that some of the Tan began to live on boats—ultimately their only way of life. By mid-Sung, there were Tan boat-dwellers in the Ch'iung-chou region of northern Hainan who devoted themselves exclusively to fishing,[89] and Su Shih's son Kuo wrote of a Tan boat-people in the Tan-chou region.[90]

There is no clear evidence of the presence of Yao tribesmen on Hainan in the early Sung period. Our twelfth-century sources frequently mention their customs by way of comparing them with those of the Li. Thus the Li are skilled with the simple bow, the Yao with the crossbow; the Li's knives are decorated, those of the Yao are not; and so on. But aside from one ambiguous hint, nothing is certain.[91] The Yao peoples—the "Man" as narrowly defined in North Vietnam—began to arrive in the provinces of Nam-Viet from the north only in Sung times,[92] and although there is a considerable body of them in Hainan today, only the merest trickle could have reached that island late in the period covered by this book.

From the very beginning, the natives of Shore of Pearls, whatever their ethnic character, were thinly treated by the Chinese invaders. This unpleasant fact is already plainly stated in the "Book of Han." It describes the native peoples, partially immune from reprisals in the fastnesses of Chu-yai and Tan-erh, in these words:

> These people are violent wrongdoers, and since they are cut off from us by obstructions, they often violate the prohibitions of our clerks,[93] and the clerks in turn treat them cruelly. On the average, they rebel once every few years and kill our clerks. On each occasion Han calls out men-at-arms who strike at them and put them down.[94]

Blundering and cruelty produced few friends. The men of Han abandoned their prickly colony, where all hands were against them. It took a millennium to make even modest changes—a few that an optimistic imperialist might style "progress."

One such hopeful change was the emergence of a class of sinicized aborigines. Sung writers could make the distinction between

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the wild Li, still unalterably opposed to Chinese domination, secure in their high hills, and the tame Li, by choice or compulsion dependent on the Hua men in the lowlands. Indeed, by late Sung times, a standard source could say of the Li and Tan who lived peaceably among the Chinese in the Wan-an district, that they were "plain and uncouth in their habits, but also law-abiding and disliking robbery and theft." [95] These happy savages, at least, were a far cry from the "violent wrongdoers" of the generation of Wu Ti of Han, more than a millennium earlier.

By T'ang times at least some Chinese settlers married Hainanese women. A writer of that age, unwilling to believe that honest Hua men could feel natural love for barbarian women, "hunched up," as they were, "with dishevelled heads," ascribes the phenomenon to the uncanny skill of the native women in preparing a love magic so powerful that "male persons loved them terribly, and did not regret even at the point of death." Moreover, says our sceptical reporter, if the man should abandon his native wife and return northwards, she will raise a storm on the sea and compel his return.[96]

There were cross-cultural marriages of the other sort too. The Li of the mountain defiles could even accept an invader into the family circle. Wu Meng (Ngu Mung), a minor Chinese official who led an armed force into the uplands in the early Sung period, encountered such a liberal host among the Li. He was captured, treated well, and given a native wife, who bore him a son. Either he did not regard this strange life as entirely suitable for a respectable Hua, or else his superiors did not—for he was finally ransomed with silver ingots.[97]

Probably few Chinese achieved positions of rank in the high grottoes. Adaptable aborigines, however, were often rewarded with positions, great and small, in the Chinese provincial administration. It was always possible for local men of "proven" loyalty to be entrusted with responsible posts, some of them the very highest, and there were always natives ready to avail themselves of such opportunities.[98] Sometimes these incumbents can be traced with at least

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a reasonable degree of probability by their surnames. An example is Tan Meng (Tam Măng), from his name a native of Tan-erh. This presumed aborigine rose to be Grand Protector of the Chinese province of Chiu-chen in coastal Vietnam in the third century.[99] In the eighth century, a certain Ho Lü-kuang, a native of Yai-chou, founded a successful career in the adjacent mainland as governor of all Lingnan, and was long remembered for his tall tales of the sea monsters that lurked off his home Shore of Pearls.[100] Even on their own island, some men of the Li were able to chart similar careers. In the eleventh century a wealthy woman, leader of one of the mountain tribes, with widespread authority among her fellow tribesmen, was accepted by the Chinese as their regnant representative in the grottoes. She was given a lofty and lordly title, and the height of her dignity enabled her daughter to succeed her in the same "fief."[101] Even after native deputies were no longer ordinarily employed in the Chinese local governments anywhere on the mainland, the practice was continued in Hainan, and these ambiguous tenures were normally hereditary.[102]

Exiled to Tan-erh, Su Shih always hoped to find concrete evidence of culture among its residents, and for men owning some acquaintance with the Hua or Middle Kingdom tradition, and therefore worthy of his conversation. His search for objects of art and virtu was only partly successful. He acquired "from among the common folk" a set of paintings of the Eighteen Arhats, the work of a late T'ang Szechwanese artist named Chang. How he obtained these masterworks he does not say, but apparently they had not adorned the walls of a gentleman's house. "Hainan is wild and rude," he writes, "and not akin to the world of such men as we—how could these paintings have come here by themselves?"[103] Still, he was saved from utter disappointment.

Somehow, no doubt partly as a result of the efforts of exiles who had preceded him, the poet found natives who had acquired the essence of Hua culture. Such men ordinarily appear in his and other writings with a family name in the Chinese fashion—Li So-and-so.

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There were such sinicized natives already in the tenth century—as, for example, a certain Li Po-heng (Lei Păk-hăng), whom the official Lu To-sun, banished to Yai-chou, found worthy of his cultivated interest.[104] So also Su Shih, in Tan-chou a century later, found educated friends of Li ancestry living in relative poverty as subsistence farmers a short distance east of the city, in a grove of trees and bamboos by a clear running stream.[105] These were four brothers. Su refers to the eldest repeatedly as Li Tzu-yün, but usually leaves the others buried in anonymity. Their friendship did much to make his exile bearable, and neither their non-Chinese origin, nor their humble circumstances could keep him from their company, as he indicates in a number of poems. To be Chinese, in the best sense, had nothing to do with birth or position—it was to accept a code of values:

> Half sober half drunk, I go to call on the Lis.
> Brambles and thorns, the whiplash of lianes—step after step distracted.
> Only by tracing cow dung do I find my homeward road—
> My home is at the cattlefold, west and further west.[106]

Even blundering drunkenly through the dark jungle Su Shih was not blind to his singular surroundings. The scene can suddenly take on a pleasantly bucolic quality, transformed by venerable Chinese images of utopian hermitages:

> Vermilion lichees burst their skins of jade;
> Yellow tangerines spill out fragrant juice.
> Lend me three acres of ground—
> I'd twine the thatch to become your neighbor!
> Since your "shrike tongues" were capable of education,
> I might be converted into one of the Li Mother's folk![107]

("Shrike-tongued" was a conventional epithet of the speech of savages.) But no question here of adopting the barbarous customs of the Li, only a cautious toying with the idea of accepting life in their vicinity as inevitable.

Captivated by a few such rustic scholars, Su Shih remarked to his

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learned friend Chiang T'ang-tso that soon there might be "white-robed" graduates sent from Hainan to the Chinese capital for their chance at fame and fortune in the civil bureaucracy—a very different matter from achieving the status of clerk or even military governor in a frontier province, positions which some natives, after all, did attain. His optimism proved to be unfounded. A writer of the early twelfth century tells us that no aspiring candidates for position among the elect were chosen on the island even during the revival of learning in the first decade of that century—and indeed there had never been one. Our authority adds sourly: "After all, I fear that there is no excellent grain in the barrenness of salt-flats." [108]

But such men as Su Shih were sometimes capable of respecting even an unlettered savage!

In the Li hills there is a secluded fellow—
His form is withered: only his spirit is whole.
Laden with faggots he goes into the walled town's market,
Laughs at me in my pedagogue's dress and hat.

In all his lifetime he has not heard of "Odes" or "Documents"—
How could he know about K'ung and Yen?
Birdlike, he comes and goes on his own,
With neither glory nor shame readily involved.

At the sun's setting, when birds and beasts scatter,
By his home at the tag-end of a lonely cloud—
Our questions and answers do not get through at all:
He breathes in and out, with repeated finger snappings.

He seems to say, "You, sir, are a nobleman,
A dragon, or phoenix—roosting in this weedy waste!"
He hands me some cotton cloth:
The winds from the sea are cold this year.[109]

Here again, Su's sympathy is based on the ancient values of his culture and class—condescending to accept a simple, uncorrupt, rustic fellow, attuned to the rhythms of nature, though ignorant of the

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Great Books. But they are not equals, and Su is pleased by the deferential attitude of his mute friend, easily assuming that he is being looked up to as a superior being.

Despite this conventional sentimental streak in his nature—urban dreams of Arcadia!—Su Shih took a genuine interest in the welfare of the natives of Hainan, and took serious thought as to how their condition might be improved. He expressed his views on this subject in a longish poem in archaic language, partly inspired by T'ao Yüan-ming's writing. The gist of his argument is this: we are responsible for the welfare of the aborigines; their deplorable life is due to their deplorable economy; they need not hunt the forests for food like savages; let them cooperate in intensive farming along familiar Chinese lines; then the moral virtues will be sustained by a simple and secure life.[110] The poem begins democratically;

> Ah, ye Han and Li!
> Equal—indeed one people!

But it contains fine ethnocentric nuggets:

> Heaven curses your soil—
> No wheat! no millet!

He remarks on the repulsive economy and diet:

> Startled muntjacs shot in the morning,
> Ferocious boars pursued at evening;
> Soup of taro, gruel of yams—
> To fill your aged pensioners!

Correctly recognizing that a certain part of the neglect of agriculture must be blamed on the monetary inducements offered by Chinese traders and officials to those Li who would devote themselves to collecting aloeswood, Su errs nonetheless in thinking that the kind of agriculture evolved in north China could be transplanted virtually whole to Hainan, along with its attendant customs and mores. This revolution, he imagined, would prove ultimately to

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be a moral one, bringing the Li to accept the Hua way of life and all of its manifold benefits.

Su Shih's son Kuo was also well-disposed towards the aborigines, and took much interest in their welfare. He too made proposals to improve their lot—rather more practical ones than those of his father—and set them down in prose. Indeed his short treatise on the Li of Hainan is an exceptionally honorable document for its times—or any times—in blaming most if not all of the troubles of the natives on their Chinese overlords, and recommending the abolition of all military measures against them.[111] After giving pious credit to his father's mature knowledge of local conditions and his wisdom about affairs generally, Su Kuo's essay continues with a precis of the usual Chinese "solutions" of the aboriginal problem:

> Some desire, by overthrowing their nests and hollows, to level their lands. Some desire, by haltering their men in servitude, to amend their customs. Some desire to cut off their intercourse and commerce, so to restrict their strength. But none of these gets at the important thing . . .

It may be argued that

> the Li people's dwelling places have nothing like the security of double gates and the striking of watchmen's sticks, of the advantage of armor and shield, of sword and bill. They are remarkably like birds and beasts that gather and disperse among the mountains and forests, the gorges and valleys. If a host of sharp troops should be sent out to catch them unprepared and burn their assemblages and settlements, they might be obliterated in a single enterprise.

Ordinary Chinese officials may believe these to be proper procedures, writes Su Kuo, but not I! He goes on to report other proposals for dealing with the contumacious natives—all of them barbarous and unjust. He rejects them: the Li cannot be controlled by force:

> The nature of these aliens and savages is just like that of dogs and swine. Although their costumes may be changed, their natures may

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> not be amended . . . . the nature of the Li people is serious and prudent, simple and reticent, but they lack the utility of written characters, tallies and contracts—they can only notch wood [112] and knot cords. Therefore we Hua men take advantage of their ignorance and rob them of their valuables. They themselves do not dare to complain to the petty officials. If they do, these bailiffs do not comprehend the words they speak. Clerks and bailiffs alike charge them gifts and bribes. Though resentful, they have no recourse. But those simply make hostages of these people, and hold them for payment.

Moreover, the cost of maintaining garrisons is ridiculous:

> Now the host of a thousand men garrisoned in Chu-yai requires no less than ten thousand strings of coin. If we should take one in ten of these as compensation to the Li people, we would find it possible to abolish the garrisoning of a host of a thousand.

In short, subsidize the natives, not the soldiers. It is cheaper. Make friends of them. It is better, writes Su Kuo, to use the money for maintaining roads and paying a local militia.[113] To sum up, the natives could not be expected to make much of the Chinese laws designed to control them—laws that took no account of their customary way of life. Bewildered, they yielded perforce to extortion, imprisonment for ransom, and the harassment of government troops. In place of these time-honored political tools, Su Kuo proposed economic aid and a native police force. Still, like his father, and apparently like all educated Chinese, he regarded native culture as no culture at all. Here were simply manlike animals, to be brought, like pets or small children, into the light of Hua civilization—the only civilization. Even granting this, I have seen no evidence that any government agency took his generous proposals into account.

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When we speak of the commerce with
our colonies, fiction lags after truth,
invention is unfruitful, and imagination
cold and barren.

EDMUND BURKE
Second Speech on Conciliation with America

4 Traffic

The traffic through the Tongking Gulf and the Hainan Strait, whether from the island to the Luichow Peninsula, or from the island to Canton, or between the island and the ports of the southern ocean and far beyond, depended on the peculiar winds and currents that dominated these almost mythical seas.

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Southwest of Hainan's four counties is that great sea called "Chiao-chih Ocean." [1] In its midst is the "Triply Joined Current" (*san ho liu*),[2] where, with wave crests spouting and gushing, the current is divided into three. One of these flows south, a way of communication with the seas of the various foreign countries. One of them flows north to the seas by Kuang-tung, Fu-chien and Chiang-che. One of them flows east to enter into a boundlessness, which is called the East Ocean Sea. Argosies of the south, coming and going, must collide with the very midst of the Triple Current. With the breath of the wind this can be traversed, but should one enter the narrows without a wind, the vessel will be unable to emerge, and is sure to be broken into pieces in the midst of the Triple Current. One hears the tradition that in the East Great Ocean Sea there is a sand-bank several myriads of *li* in length. Here the Confluence of Tail-ends" [3] drains out in eddies into the Nine Chasms. Once long ago there was an argosy—this vessel was drawn by a great west wind into the East Great Sea, where the sound of the Confluence of Tail-ends roared and rumbled in a landless place. Suddenly it got a great east wind, and so escaped.[4]

Here was the antipodal image of the feared Atlantic abyss—a gulf in the eastern Pacific, into which all the eastward flowing rivers of China finally poured their waters.

A traveller bound for Hainan, which was visible on a very clear day,[5] normally took passage from Hsü-wen on the southern extremity of the Luichow Peninsula. In the early Sung period, as Su Shih tells us (if not earlier) it was customary to make a pious visit to the shrine of the two Wave-subduers of Han,[6] and to have a preliminary divination taken for a propitious day to cross the strait. Su himself, when he returned to Hsü-wen from his short exile on the island, wrote a grateful paean to this pair of godlike conquerors, and had the text engraved in a stele which was erected close to the temple.[7]

The trip by sailing vessel, with a north wind, brought the voyagers to the harbor [8] of Yai-chou in a day and a night.[9] Not a great journey, perhaps, but prematurely fatal to much of the cattle that

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were carried a hundred to a vessel, destined for slaughter at the great religious ceremonies of the Li:

> Those that die of hunger and thirst are beyond numbering. When the oxen ascend the boat all cry out mournfully and shed tears.[10]

Larger vessels made the much longer passage between the island and the provincial capital of Canton in a week or so,[11] but these more ambitious sailings were absolutely dependent on a southwesterly wind—failing that, they were impossible.[12] The Chinese of the eleventh century were no daring seafarers. But some men learned to make the perilous voyage through the open waters that lay east and west of the island. This had become necessary because the old overland roads, one via Ch'ang-hua along the west coast, and the other via Wan-an along the east coast, unprotected by troops in the first part of the Southern Sung period, had fallen into the hands of the wild Li tribesmen from the highlands. Accordingly in the twelfth century the water route became the only means of communication with Chi-yang [new Yai-chou] on its southern tip.[13] There wild waters of the Gulf of Tongking and the South China Sea were at that time known as the "whale waves" (*ching po*)—an image already used by Tu Fu and other earlier writers. To make the venturesome passage both ways was, in mid-Sung times, called "twice wading the whale waves" (*tsai she ching po*).[14] The image refers to the huge humped swells of these seas, like the rearing backs of whales. This cliche suggests the Anglo-Saxon kenning *hron-rād* "whale road"—a conventional metaphor for the high seas. But the later expression had a rather different implication—the ocean was the road swum by whales.

Ultimately, the goods that attracted Chinese merchants, government agents, and sly adventurers to Hainan originated among the Li peoples, who, from time to time, emerged from their fastnesses to trade with the northerners.[15] They indulged in these dangerous contacts in order to obtain goods which they could not make them-

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selves, or which were made of the superior materials available to Chinese craftsmen:

> For salt and milk, cereals and silks, axes and hatchets, utensils and tools they are altogether dependent on Hua men. For these they exchange hardly anything but "sinking aromatic" and cotton.[16]

This limited trade was characteristic of the T'ang-Sung period. The Hainanese cottons included the scarlet mattings and figured polychrome bags already mentioned.[17] In much greater demand for both ceremonial and private purposes was the odorous aloeswood of which the Hua men were enamoured. Accordingly the Li demanded cattle, essential to their own ceremonial life, from them in exchange.[18] For both peoples the needs of ritual dominated commerce.

In his poetic essay intended to encourage the introduction of a new kind of agriculture among the Li, Su Shih expressed dismay at the extent to which the tribesmen neglected their simple farms in order to gather the scented, decayed and expensive wood. This neglect left them at the mercy of greedy and unscrupulous Chinese officials—the search for decomposed garoo corrupted their employees in the frontier stockades:

> Sowing these odorous woods—
> Decaying remnants, that is their harvest!
> Greedy men—polluted clerks:
> Hawks that seize—wolves that feed![19]

The trade flourished, enriching a few men on the island—the entrepreneurs. Already in T'ang times there were lumber millionaires on Hainan. Such was Wei Kung-kan, the rapacious and unscrupulous governor of the Ch'iung-chou region. Once he had been magistrate of Ai-chou in Annam. There he had conceived the ambitious plan of finding the bronze pillars erected many centuries before (it was said) by the Wave-subduer Ma Yüan, to mark the limits of the civilized world. These could then be melted down and sold to foreign merchants. The plan failed because of the superstitious reverence of

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the natives for the famous relics. Kung-han's avarice remained unabated in Hainan. There he kept hundreds of slaves, the greater number of them engaged in weaving fine fabrics, working precious metals, and fabricating furniture of rare woods. "His house is like a marketplace." He sent his men along the shores of the island looking for ebony and other valuable timber.[20] Such was the rigor with which he enforced the prompt delivery of his quotas that his slaves sometimes committed suicide when their cuttings were inadequate. Kung-han once came close to ruin. He had obtained two ships from his son-in-law, the Protector of Annam, and sent them off to Canton with a guard of soldiers, one loaded with ebony and silver, the other with *kata*-wood and gold. Both were lost. "When hidden evil and hidden depravity escape the punishment of men, they will still win the punishment of ghosts."[21]

Some part at least of the profitable trade in exotic woods was monopolized by such slave-owning capitalists. But probably much was exchanged in the Chinese markets of the coastal towns, where the Li tribesmen hoped to obtain salt and knives, and offered their best produce for them. In Sung times, at least, many of them preferred to come incognito, disguised as townsmen. They could only be recognized as wild mountaineers when, at the blast of an ox-horn at sunset, the market closed and they all came pell-mell together and departed for their far forest lairs.[22]

Other than these, economic relations with the mainland kept Hainan in an entirely dependent and tributary status. One factor in this dependency was the need of the Chinese colonists and their families, who despised the local diet of taro and yams, for an abundance of rice, which was not available from local sources. Consequently, as Su Shih, suffering from what he regarded as a barbarous cuisine, observed in verse, when the great merchant ships failed to arrive—for reasons of weather, civil war, or piracy—"a grain of rice was like a pearl."[23] But despite their complaints, the needs of exiles like Su Shih does not account for the great quantity of rice imported to Hainan. Most of it was intended for the Chinese garrisons

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that tried feebly to maintain their hold on the island. Sometimes the soldiers, as well as the proud and poetic aristocrats, had to do without.

This problem existed both in the tenth and in the eleventh centuries. At the end of the tenth century it was customary to levy rice rations for the Hainan establishment from the southern counties of Lingnan, and to ship them across the strait in vessels manned by Chinese soldiers, ill prepared for sea duty, who perished in considerable numbers. In the last decade of the century, pirate raids made the transshipment even more hazardous. A temporary solution, beneficial to the Chinese at any rate, was found in the designation of a grain depot at the shortest possible distance from the island. From this, rice-boats manned by Tan boat-people conscripted on Hainan plied the narrow crossing to Ch'iung-chou.[24]

The dependence of Hainan as a Chinese colony was revealed in another way. In late T'ang times all of the tax revenues collected on the island, instead of being locally used, were sent to the superior jurisdiction in Canton. Honest officials, at least, forwarded them. Accordingly the Chinese army of occupation remained entirely dependent upon each new incumbent of the high jurisdiction in Canton, not only for a reasonable diet as we have seen, but also for its regular expenses and salaries. In T'ang times, these great mandarins proffered a donative of 500,000 cash to the army in Hainan, an irregular and undependable contribution which could not have helped the stability of the Chinese establishment on the island.[25]

The "Sung History" reports another form of economic subjection. This derived from the character of the tax on goods imported to Hainan. The coastal provinces south of the Yangtze shipped articles of gold, silver and fine silk to the island in the eleventh century. It can only be supposed that these costly goods were intended to enrich the lives of powerful Chinese administrators and wealthy dealers in tropical woods and in raw gold and silver, which they now received back as vases and hairpins. At the other extreme of the commercial spectrum, pottery, livestock and bags of rice were im-

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ported for other persons and other purposes. But the import tax was made proportional to the size of the vessel which brought these goods to Hainan, regardless of the value of these wares. The result was great profits from luxury imports and little profit from ordinary goods. Commerce in the latter tended to be choked off, so increasing the overall poverty and deprivation characteristic of life on Shore of Pearls in early medieval times.[26]

In the Northern Sung period the great foreign argosies coming up from the Indies to Ch'iung-chou, then Hainan's chief town, moored at "White Sands Ford." Since the channel into the inner harbor was narrow and tortuous, these large vessels could not manage it, and were obliged to nose into the bank outside, where they suffered the onslaughts of winds and waves.[27] Apparently ocean-going ships made use of other parts on the island too, since the "Old Book of T'ang" gives itineraries from Wan-an on the east coast to the "Red Land Country" on the central Malay Peninsula, probably on the Kelantan River,[28] and from Chen-chou on the south coast to Tan-tan just south of Red Land.[29]

But most likely these last were chiefly havens of refuge and provisioning stops for the merchantmen, whose main objective was Canton. Some of them, however, found themselves compelled to end their voyages at Shore of Pearls, the prey of such men as Ch'en Wu-chen, a magnate of Chen-chou in late T'ang times:

> Prior to this, when merchant argosies of the Western Precincts came, wave-tossed and foundering, he had taken the opportunity to make them his possessions. The men of Hai-chung (i.e. Hainan) excel at the art of incantation, which is popularly called "the method of successful seizure."[30] Whenever a merchant vessel, having traversed the sea roads exceedingly far from the five counties of Hai-chung, has the misfortune to lose its way, wave- and wind-tossed, and comes within the bounds of Chen-chou, the people of Chen quickly ascend the hills, pluck their hair, raise the wind and lift the waves with their spells and curses. The argosy is unable to get away, and is inevitably stopped, tossing about in the enchanted spot. It is by this means that Wu-chen became rich.[31]

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As a result, his wealth was measured in "myriads in gold," and he owned hundreds of storehouses, stuffed with rhinoceros horn, ivory and tortoise shell. The magic of the Hainanese wreckers was not only the method used to acquire the fantastic cargoes of the freighters of Ceylon and Persia. There were also the cruder techniques of the pirates—though probably the storm-raisers and the buccaneers were often one and the same. The island has always been famous for them, since it offers them excellent hideouts for attacks on the chief shipping lanes between China and the Indies. Possibly the bloody raid on Canton in 758, said to have been made by Arabs and Persians, originated in a base on Hainan.[32] The Hainanese pirate Feng Jo-fang (Byung Nhak-p'yang)—from his name an aborigine—enriched himself by plundering Persian and other merchant ships in the T'ang period.[33] Probably the activities of the Hainanese pirates was seasonal, as in modern times. In the nineteenth century, they became watchful in the summer when the southern monsoon brought the rich junks up from Indochina and Malaya.[34] The first serious attempt to control piracy in these waters that I have noticed was made in the middle of the eleventh century,[35] when a locally recruited navy, with headquarters at Canton, called "Sea-patrolling Water-army" (*hsün hai shui chün*), was provided with banners and drums, and trained for attack and defense along the coasts of Nam-Viet, including the offshore waters of Hainan.[36]

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In Yucatan, the Maya sonneteers
Of the Caribbean ampitheatre,
In spite of hawk and falcon, green toucan
And jay, still to the night-bird made their plea
As if raspberry tanagers in palms,
High up in orange air, were barbarous.

WALLACE STEVENS
The Comedian as the Letter C

5 Exiles

Through the ages Hainan has been regarded as the ultimate place of exile. It was horrible enough to be sent to live out one's days in misery in the fearful jungles of Annam beyond the Gate of Ghosts,[1] but the passage of the strait that separated the island from the continent symbolized a divorce that was even more to be dreaded—the transit marked a sort of spiritual death. Even in modern times

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Hainan has been seen chiefly as a sink of desperadoes and outlaws —a "refugium peccatorum" as one writer has put it.[2] So worthless was it for the purposes of decent men that Sun Yat-sen (according to one report) wished to sell it to a foreign power for fourteen million dollars.[3]

In T'ang times there were various kinds and degrees of humiliation by banishment, such as "ostracism" (*che*), "degradation" (*pien*) and "penal exile" (*liu*).[4] The name mattered little if the place of banishment was Hainan: this meant damnation and despair.

A typical sufferer of this vile punishment was the scholarly aristocrat Wei Chih-i (Wĕi Chĕp-ngiĕ), who trembled at the sight of a map of Yai-chou in his ministerial office. The dreadful omen was proved: early in the ninth century he was disgraced, degraded and banished to that place, and there he died.[5] No man could rise so high that he could be sure of immunity from the painful southward journey to this tropical inferno. A notable T'ang example is Yang Yen (Yang Yem) the great minister of the late eighth century who devised the famous "double tax" system, which completely altered the economic life of China. He was also a talented landscape painter. Banished to Yai-chou for political reasons, he was forced to commit suicide there.[6] Almost a century later, a competent general, Li Hu, succeeded in driving out the Nan-chao invaders who had occupied the T'ang protectorate in Annam—but, because of an earlier failure, he was removed from office and exiled to the green jungles of Hainan.[7]

By the twelfth century, three Hua exiles had become posthumous saints in Hainan. The Temple of the Three Lords (*San kung miao*) there honored Li Te-yü, Lu To-sun, and Ting Wei.[8] Probably these three were singled out because of their literary abilities, since by now official deification could come as readily to a deceased writer, especially if he had also enjoyed a high position in the government, as it could to a former military hero.

Of the three, Li Te-yü has now by far the greatest reputation.

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The great minister, who reached the height of his career under Wen Tsung and Wu Tsung of T'ang, was first exiled to Ch'ao-chou on the coast of Kwangtung, already notorious as Han Yü's crocodile-infested home in exile in 847. He was hurried on to Yai-chou in 848. He died there in the following year at the age of 63.[9] Later stories told that his exile and death had been predicted to him in a dream long ago by an old man—an avatar of a grateful frog that had found a home in a pond constructed by the minister in Szechwan. The transformed frog-spirit, after promising him honor and wealth, added that after "seven-nine" years "we shall see each other again beyond a myriad miles." The omen was misleading: "Seven-nine" was taken to mean a period of about seven to nine years—but actually it meant sixty-three, the minister's age when he perished on the southern seashore.[10]

When his destiny finally overtook him, Li Te-yü came into the tropics full of foreboding, his spirit overwhelmed by dark forests, malarial mists, and "serpent herbs." His soul shook where "sagwire and coconut leaves darken the mountain streams of the Man," and where "The Bird of Viet cries among the red hibiscus flowers."[11] In Hainan he was consumed with melancholy. He built a little porch, or lookout, where he could dissolve his sadness by sitting through "the endless days." Later men called this pavilion "The Balcony of Endless Days" (*Yung jih hsüan*).[12] But his sadness never deserted him. He wept as he looked off towards the distant capital, whence he had once ruled an empire.[13] The former councillor of state had risen from lowly circumstances. At the end of his life he thought of other poor boys who might weep at his fate, which could be theirs: "All at the same time looking south at Li of Yai-chou!"[14] And as "Li of Yai-chou" he was long remembered. He was celebrated under that name in a poem by Su Shih, and also as a crane in a chicken's nest—that is, as a changeling, and a genius among common men.[15] Li of Yai-chou wished that he were a bird, that he might fly over the endless green mountains and twisting jungle rivers back to his old home.[16] In his bitter nostalgia, he hardly noticed

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his wild and vivid surroundings.[17] The colors of the tropical birds and the absurd customs of the Li equally escaped his attention. His creative powers deserted him. His brief sojourn in Hainan, terminated with his life, inspired little new writing—a mere fistful of verses has survived. It is reported that he wrote forty-nine essays, summing up the purposes of his life, but these have vanished.[18] Despite his former eminence in the political world, his ambitions as a poet, and his original contributions to horticulture, his final months were sterile. A few tenuous contacts with his lost world may have brought some solace. He wrote to Tuan Ch'eng-shih, jesting about his new life among the chickens.[19] Po Chü-i composed an allegorical poem lamenting Li Te-yü's absence from his celebrated gardens —implying also that the fine fruits of his political labors were being replaced by weeds[20]—possibly Li Te-yü received a copy.

An anecdote of Sung times tells of his final premonition of death. On a visit to a monastery in Yai-chou, he saw a dozen or so globular objects hanging on a wall. He took them to be gourds containing medicinal herbs, but the good monk said that the powders in them were no drugs, but the ashes of earlier exiles, whose bodies he had piously cremated. He was keeping these relics in case a son or grandson should come to claim them. Li Te-yü went home despondent. "That night he passed away."[21] His ghost came to Ling-hu T'ao in a dream and said, "Be good enough to grieve for me, lord, and have me brought back for burial." Fearing that noncompliance might bring misfortune, Ling-hu T'ao petitioned the emperor, and the disgraced magnate's corpse was brought home.[22]

The second of the most noble Three Lords, Lu To-sun, served the rulers of Later Chou and Northern Sung in the tenth century. Exiled to Yai-chou, he died there in 985, more than a century after Li Te-yü. Despite his fame in Sung times, records of his experience on Hainan are very meager. Compelled, willy-nilly, to marry the daughter of a junior staff officer,[23] he seems, if we can judge from two poems of his called "A Village South of the Water," to have managed a kind of adaptation to the unpleasant island. Here is one of the pair:

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Weather and scene at Chu-yai—a village south of the water:
Households of men under the hills—gateways under the forest.
The season when parrots nest—coconuts form their fruit;
The place where chukars cry—bamboos bear their sprouts.

Fish and salt in household made—but neither fair nor market;
Cereal grains each year gained—so they have goblets of wine.
A visitor from afar with his goosefoot staff, accustomed to coming and going,
Still imagines in his own lifetime that he may be at Peach Spring.[24]

This unfamiliar land with its unspoiled men may, after all, be the long dreamed-of utopia. In the second poem of the pair, the poetic politician writes with some enthusiasm about the yams along his fence and the areca palms around his house—what is all this talk about a "wilderness?"[25]

Ting Wei,[26] the third of the deified exiles on Shore of Pearls, was a very high officer of the Sung government. He spent five years in exile in Yai-chou during the reign of Jen Tsung in the middle of the eleventh century, only a few decades before the arrival on Hainan of Su Shih.[27] Unlike Li Te-yü, whose pen failed him in Hainan, he busied himself with writing, and produced a large collection of poems, later published under the title *Chih ming chi* "Collected [works] of one who Comprehends his Fate."[28] It seems no longer to be extant. But some part of his anecdotal reminiscences of his pre-exilic career, later embodied in the *Ting Chin kung t'an lu* survives.[29] Like all conscientious "Confucian" gentlemen, he devoted much of his time to teaching the aborigines to read and write Chinese.[30] The animal kingdom, inspired by Heaven, let him know that he would survive his banishment and return safely to the mainland:

There is a bird that flies over the southern seas and drops its dung from out of the void onto boats. It is foul but cannot be smelled. Although when Ting, Lord of Chin, was banished to Yai, this bird soared above, its dung did not befoul him. After his arrival in Yai he let the horses and oxen that he had saddled loose in the moun-

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> tain forests. One evening, after several years interval, all of them without exception came together. So it was that the following day he got his orders for Kuang-chou.[31]

Although the loss of Ting Wei's Hainan poems prevents us from capturing his vision of the hated island, a quip attributed to him does survive, which may indicate that he did not altogether despise the place. He asked a visitor to name the greatest of the counties in the empire. His guest chose, naturally, the capital city. Not so, said Ting Wei. In Ch'ang-an I was prime minister—here I am only a minor official—surely Yai-chou is the greatest! [32]

But after these three Su Shih (Su Shĕk) was the most celebrated of the exiles that came to Shore of Pearls. His career needs no review here. Only his reactions to his novel surroundings in Hainan need concern us.

Banished first to Hui-chou on the mainland, where he arrived on 2 October, 1094, late in the reign of Che Tsung, the poet suffered the loss of his dear mistress Chao-yün there in 1095. He was soon compelled to move on, and embarked for Hainan from Lei-chou on 11 June, 1097, in his sixty-first year, taking with him his third and youngest son, Su Kuo.[33] He took leave of his beloved younger brother Su Ch'e (Tzu-yu), imparting appropriate maxims on the vanity of mundane pursuits, and set out to sea, leaving him in his separate banishment on the peninsula.[34] His thoughts, duly registered in verse, were of the conventionally gloomy sort, common to all exiles in the tropics:

> Going parallel to the Ghost Gate, then galloping east—
> Floating on the Malarial Sea, so to shift south.

He confesses the gravity of his sins, lavishes praise on the Son of Heaven in well-chosen classical cliches, and sheds repentant but commonplace tears as "trolls wait to welcome me on the sea." [35] Soon he arrived at his new home in Ch'ang-hua in Tan-chou on the western coast of Hainan. His first reactions were reasonably tran-

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quil. But his achievement of the Tao, he discovered, was not sufficient to provide the equanimity required by the excessive, melancholy-breeding solitude.[36] Yet his isolation provoked some small philosophical consolation in the vein of Chuang-tzu. Size is, after all, relative. China is itself an island. An ant, temporarily adrift on a blade of grass, lives on an island. Hainan is an island of intermediate size. Properly conceived, life can be experienced in the same way everywhere.[37]

First lodged in a respectable house, Su Shih was soon expelled by pressure from the government. He was obliged to buy a small plot of land in the countryside south of the county town, where he built a small thatched dwelling in a grove of sagwire palms. The local people brought tiles and earth to help him. Still fearful of malaria, poisonous snakes and forest goblins, he tried to put aside his narrow, urbanized conception of a suitable home, and to become a true man of the world, puzzling as this part of the world was. He tried to prepare himself to "straddle the Boundless to roam to the City of Diffuse Light," as if he were making ready to explore a white paradise of the Taoists,[38] or waiting for death.

The diet available in these monsoon forest fringes was as exotic and unclassical as the housing, and perhaps inspired rich and cosmic thoughts in some men. But Su Shih was not one of them. On the contrary, he was rather apprehensive about the prospects, having read conservative T'ang opinion about such bizarre southern foods as "honey peepers" (newborn rats stuffed with honey) and frogs.[39] Good familiar meats, such as pork and barnyard fowl, were in deplorably short supply:

> Once in five days I see the flesh of flowered pig,
> Once in ten days I find yellow chicken porridge.
> Men of this land—meal after meal—eat yam and taro;
> They present me with "odorous rats" and broiled bats.

(A flowered pig is a spotted one; odorous rats are civets—here possibly the Lesser Civet of Hainan.[40]) The poet recalls wistfully the

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good times in the capital, when he was surfeited with fat lambs, "steamed flowers" and "pink jade"—these last surely high cuisine, but not now identifiable. To his brother Tzu-yu, who has gotten thin in Lei-chou, he goes on to suggest that they may both yet become lean enough to pass for ethereal and transcendental beings—Taoist supermen—light enough to mount the legendary yellow swan and fly through the realms of air.[41] A joke perhaps, but almost serious.

There was consolation in the clear, clean water, easily dipped out of a stream near the little house, and cautiously boiled for a refreshing cup of tea.[42] The fame of Hainan's fresh springs—a fame that attracted no tourists—was long established. Li Te-yü had a great deal to do with this fame, indirectly. He had appreciated the distinctively flavored drinking water that flowed from Mount Hui (Hui shan in modern Kiangsu). A monk told him that this delicious spring was connected underground with a well in a Taoist monastery, called "Sunny Sky," in Ch'ang-an. Now Su Shih, more than two centuries later, found that the water of a spring in a Buddhist sanctuary in Ch'iung-chou tasted like the esteemed Mount Hui water. A Hainanese monk informed him that this southern spring was called "The Hui-Connected"—bringing the joyful hope that it too might flow through the secret channels of the earth to the capital—an omen, perhaps, of his early reconciliation with the imperial government. Perhaps too we should understand that the charisma of Li Te-yü himself—now the great historic example of an exile in Hainan—had extended the holy flow beyond Mount Hui in the middle south to Ch'iung-chou in the deepest south.[43] Here is another cautious intimation of great magic concealed in the horrifying hills of Hainan.

Better yet, Su Shih found a source of excellent, refreshing water near his semi-rustic house. "Ostracized to dwell to Tan-erh," he wrote, "I divined a building-place south of the city wall, next to the Palace of the Overseer of Destiny." Within the precincts of this temple was a spring, clear and sweet, unlike the somewhat brackish wa-

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ters otherwise common nearby. The poet wrote some sarcastic lines on the uselessness of salty water, akin to such excretions as sweat and blood, while comparing this holy water, which he used exclusively for his cooking and drinking, to a Taoist elixir of immortality.[44] His diet then comprised suspect, perhaps dangerous flesh, crude root vegetables—and sweet water. He saw himself, the "old man" of the second of the following quatrains, amazingly adapted to novel surroundings—an adaptation helped materially by a better drink than water—wine!

A small town floating beyond the bridge.
A blue hill east of a stony bank.
Spears of tea emerge after the burning;
Waves of wheat—empty before the water.

At a myriad doorways, where wine is not taboo,
In a trio of years they have really come to know this old man,
Who, tying up thatch, came to dwell here.
In the evening of his years—is there anyone like him? [45]

The aborigines manufactured a number of fine nepenthean brews. Su Shih himself was given credit in later times for the invention of some of them. Among these native wines and beers—that is, fruit and cereal ferments—were the brew of the shiny asparagus, and a cinnamon wine.[46] Surely all was not lost where there was an abundance of palm toddies—and even green turtle soup! Su Shih rejoices that the strange but potent wines fermented in the manner of the wild Li tribes can be drunk merrily by Chinese and barbarian together. Though he must eat such poor fare as yams with ginger, still many good men have had to do the same, even on this island. After all, it was still possible to write poetry and pursue other civilized tasks. The poem in which he makes these observations reads oddly to us, although there is little unusual about its mixture of exoticisms, exact local observations, personal reminiscences and classical literary allusions. It is as if all of the favorite imagery of an educated man's life had to be drawn on to dry the tears evoked by this

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unpalatable fare—a vain attempt to find evidence that would answer the question, "Is this real life or a funny dream?" [47]

For regular and reliable companionship Su Shih had his son and his dog. Su Kuo, fortunately a young man of talent, was his father's constant helper and guide. It appears that his devotion went beyond mere conventional piety.[48] The dog seems to have been equally devoted. "Raven Snout" was his name—a greedy, bouncing, affectionate animal, and a good swimmer. Almost everyone who has written about Su Shih's last years has been attracted to the delightful animal. This is why I give him less space than he deserves here.[49] In addition: there were men of some education, or at least men experienced in human affairs, such as village elders, who could help pass an afternoon in profitable conversation, and perhaps direct the exile to some old, neglected book.[50] Such was an old man named Fu—poor, unfettered, peaceful, relaxed—or so he appeared to Su Shih, to be interpreted as a hermit in the good classical mold.[51] The poet, uneasy in this paradoxical land, was determined to find something or someone that would fit a recognized pattern, sanctioned by the code and the books. Better at least than dying in helpless despair like Li Te-yü.

There was the possibility of literacy among the local Buddhist monks—though these were neither as numerous nor as learned as the clerics in the great cities of the north, and were not noted for the purity of their sexual lives.[52] Finally the earnest seeker might hope to improve his understanding of mankind and find some temporary exhilaration by strolling about Tan-chou town with his son and such acquaintances as he could tolerate. There were little shrines to be studied; lanes in which skittish aborigines mingled with Chinese peasants; repulsive butcher shops; attractive wine shops.[53]

Recreation could sometimes be blended with piety. Su Shih tells how a fisherman brought him twenty-one "bastard carp" [54] for sale. He and his guests bought them gladly to save their lives, put them in a wooden basin, carried them north of the city wall to the shady

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side of the Lun River (*Lun shui*), and there released them. A gentleman of the company named Ch'en Tsung-tao took the occasion to recite an appropriate passage from the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra to ensure the safe transition of the fish to a superior form of life. This was in the spring of 1099.[55]

Then there were the pleasures of searching for curative and life-giving herbs—some discernably of classical repute, and some new discoveries—among them what unsuspected panaceas and incredible elixirs. Occasional indigestion was a natural penalty of the experimenter.[56]

There were also hobbies to be pursued. Late Sung tradition credited Su Shih with improving the locally available ink. It was even said that he became a master ink-blender, the creator of "Hainan Pine Carbon." The reputation seems to be exaggerated—indeed even admirers of the poet have claimed that it is entirely fraudulent,[57] though no doubt he experimented in this respectable technology. Could it be that he actually traded on his name to sell some ink sticks—autographed as it were? Beyond a doubt he needed money, and states frankly that he was obliged to sell all of his fine wine cups to pay for food and clothing in Hainan, saving only a single "lotus-leaf cup" of delicate workmanship which he could not bear to part with.[58]

There was solace to be found in scholarship and writing. His brother wrote of him that

> while his daily fare has been yam and taro, the remembrance of his floriate house and jadelike food have not lingered in his breast. For ordinary living there is nothing to which he is inordinately addicted. He had taken charts and histories to be his gardens and orchards, and literary compositions to be his drums and pipes. But at this point he has dispensed with all of these things too: his sole remaining joy is poetry.[59]

This is evidently an idealized recollection controverted by Su Shih's own writing. The great man may have tolerated but could not have

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enjoyed the rustic dishes of Hainan, nor, on the other hand, did he find his only savor in versification. He did indeed write much poetry in the course of his short stay on the island, showing increasing devotion to T'ao Yüan-ming, whose poems constantly echoed in his own. But he also found much time to continue his classical studies, and he produced a commentary on the *Shu* ("The Classic of History") during the same period.[60] Moreover, his reputation brought hopeful young scholars to visit him and seek his advice[61]—surely some compensation for the barbarous physical circumstances he found himself in. Evidently he indulged himself in some calligraphic exercises at the instance of local notables, since in the twelfth century a Buddhist monastery in Hainan boasted a placard inscribed by Su Shih.[62] In short, his life could not have been quite so narrow and barren as it seemed to distant sympathizers and well-wishers—or even to himself.

So it was that he, unlike Li Te-yü, managed to survive. His complaints seem merely conventional, even half-humorous: the food may be simple, but monks and hermits thrive on it.[63] His description of himself as "a sick old man" is not quite candid. He remarks that the lads who congratulate him on the rosy glow in his cheeks have misinterpreted the flush of wine.[64]

We have seen how Su Shih rejoiced in the company of aborigines who had accepted the Hua scheme of values—as a good Roman bishop might have favored the company of sincere Frankish or Saxon converts. Indeed he had a great need to meet people and converse with them. Unhappy without visitors or visits, he could not disdain ignorant folk of any race.[65] He went so far as to put on local costume, and wished to learn a local dialect—although it is not recorded that he achieved this feat.[66] He contracted sincere friendships among the educated people of Tan-erh. The Li brothers have already been noticed and so has Chiang T'ang-tso of Chu-yai, whom Su accounted a cultivated gentleman. The great man wrote a couplete on Chiang's fan:

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How could the cold blue sea ever sunder the arteries of the earth?
Yet Chu-yai has now broken through from the wild places of Heaven!

Here "the wild places of Heaven" has the secondary meaning of "a natural wilderness." The couplet constitutes a classical allusion appropriate to the first local candidate from a frontier region who might break through the barriers of education, geography and family connections, and make the grade in the imperial examinations. Su Shih was predicting that Chiang would some day put Hainan on the intellectual map. He wrote another couplet for the same man, this one inscribed on a table top. It was in a lighter mood, and made fun of the customs of the local girls:

An obscure musk adheres to this person?—she has stuck jasmine in her hair.
A pink tide rises in her cheeks?—she is drunk on betel nut.[67]

There was a certain literary precedent for jasmine as an enhancer of woman's beauty—not truly classical, but acceptable. A betel-chewing beauty, however, was a rather outrageous novelty—like a coca-chewing or hashish-eating chorus girl.

In the verses of the T'ang poets, such tropical plants as the areca and the arenga palm had been conventional symbols of exile, but in the poetry of Su Shih they are mere commonplaces—they appear almost as household plants. A piece of wilderness could after all become an acceptable, even an ordinary habitat. His youthful dreams of limitless travel over dazzling horizons were, after all, merely childish:

When young in years I loved to wander far—
My irresponsible will inhibited even by the Eight Wildernesses.
The Nine Savage [Races] were hedges and fences—
The Four Seas were a ring around my hall!

Such boundless fantasies had faded away. Now, south of the sea he finds that one place is much like another, and in any case it was possible to live there, even to accept the barbarous diet:

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I might find surfeit in tubers of taro—
And how could I be harmed by lack of meat?

The Li Mother Mountains of Hainan did not look very different from the classical hills of home, Mt. Sung and Mt. Mang, glories of the Middle Kingdom.[68] Indeed, as Chuang-tzu had observed so movingly and poetically, all values are relative. Even more—the workings of the creative energy are whimsical—not to be taken too seriously:

The fashioning of creatures is, after all, a child's play—
The sighing of the wind—the laughing of thunder and lightning.
Would anyone have us take uncanny things as phantoms or frights? [69]

Goblins (the south was full of them) are as natural and ordinary as sticks and stones—the mindless creator laughed at all such toys without discrimination.[70]

But this adjustment or resignation to the weird landscape in which he must, perforce, live did not include an awakened interest in its details. Su Shih simply accepted the facts of the life he must lead—taro and water buffaloes and aborigines and all—and noted such commonplaces in his verse.[71] But he did not explore the fringes of his little world. He was no bold pioneer of the tropical forest. Its gloom, its brilliance, its mysteries did not entice him, nor provide a store of images for his poetry. His generous heart allowed that all things could be tolerated, but he did not learn to look for values beyond his ken—which was the flexible but circumscribed vision of a liberal, educated north Chinese. In this he had been surpassed by Liu Tsung-yüan, before that gifted writer died miserably in the haunted mountain forests of Kwangsi. Everything around him had been a marvel and a source of excitement.[72] Su Shih was incapable of such breadth of fancy. In Hainan, his chief concerns remained his relations with his friends and relatives, his recollections of the past, and his Chinese cultural values. He did not write about new things—although he made it possible for other men to accept new things.

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If Su Shih's imagination was not significantly enlarged by his new experiences, neither, predictably, was his creative writing. However, it is sometimes hard to date his poems accurately, and to distinguish those written on the mainland from those written on the island. Internal evidence does not always suffice: such a line as "red yam with purple taro"[73] could have been written anywhere in south China—and is indeed hardly more than a common cliche, calculated to horrify the palate of a well-bred Chinese. Traces of exotic imagery turn up in both insular and continental poems. One such is a double quatrain written in Kwangtung before his departure for Hainan. The scene is a banquet—life in the south was not as austere as the classical exemplars suggested. "The loquats are now ripe, splendent as gold and pearl." The rich wine foams—conventionally—with "jade maggots." There are green cakes impregnated with the juice of sophora leaves. Fish are provided, wrapped in bean leaves on a platter of pink-tinted ice.[74] But there is nothing wildly exotic here—even the loquats have become everyday fruits. (It is surprising how many of Su Shih's southern poems are preoccupied with food. The southern delicacies, well imaged as they may be, suggest the reflections of a gourmet more than the inquisitiveness of an iconographer—could he have become fat?)

On Hainan the story is the same. "The sky lowers—malarial clouds are heavy."[75] We have heard it all before in the bitter lines of T'ang exiles in Nam-Viet, and in Su Shih's verses such phrases are fully domesticated—"green barbarism turning paradigm."[76] A few fine tropical blooms, not quite assimilated, do turn up, such as the Taoist adept in a poem written just after his return from Shore of Pearls. Although it is not very surprising to read that "his heart is like a lotus flower," it is certainly enjoyable to imagine "his ears like bananas"—presumably not the fruit but the leaves.[77]

Despite a degree of philosophic resignation and the solace of poetry. Su Shih could not escape the twin sorrows of nostalgia and loneliness. He sits late by his extinct lamp, amid the fumes of his incense brazier, while the rising wind disturbs the crows in the trees,

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and the dogs bay at the clouds under the moon. In darkness and solitude he thinks only of his brother in Lei-chou.[78] Or again, while his son Kuo is at a late party with a local official, he lies staring at the moon and listening to the sounds of nocturnal insects, while his incense clock burns slowly through to the end of its trail.[79] Even by day the tropical scenery evokes only memories of home:

Confused hills drip turquoise—dress and cape are heavy;
Paired torrents echo hollow—windows and doors shake.
Replete with food, I do not mind that I grow lean from streamside bamboo shoots;
I penetrate the forest idly searching for wild parsley sprouts.

Still, I am despondent: the township's commandant—he knows the walk to the monastery;
Yet I rejoice: the fishermen—they fight their way across the bridge.
Just as at Malt-wine Springs, with its road below the hills,
Where the mulberry limbs jabbed my eyes, and the wheat was level with my waist.[80]

Or he leans despondently on a railing after a tropical storm, watching the fine double rainbow—and dreams of the arrival of an official despatch ordering him back home again.[81]

Finally the orders come. In May, 1100, the influence of the empress dowager, mother of the last of the Northern Sung emperors, Hui Tsung, procured a pardon for Su Shih, and he departed for the mainland with his faithful son and his black-snouted dog.[82] The senior citizens of Ch'ang-hua came weeping to his boat with gifts of food and wine.[83] He wrote a happy quatrain:

What was left of life—I thought to grow old in a village of Hainan,
Till god should send Wu Yang[84] to summon my soul.
Now blurred in the distance, the sky lowers, yonder where a falcon stoops—
And then—a hairline of blue hills—there is the Central Plain![85]

On his way northward to the capital an old friend asked him about Hainan. He said that the spiritual climate was "exceedingly

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good," and the temper of the people "not bad." [86] He died on the way home.

A tablet, inscribed *ming tao* "Enlightened in the Way" was erected in his honor at the lecture hall in Ch'iung-chou early in the thirteenth century.[87] It bore these words:

"His is the first great name which history connects intimately with Hainan . . . His writings have cast a glamour over the island, obscuring as well as illuminating what he observed." [88]

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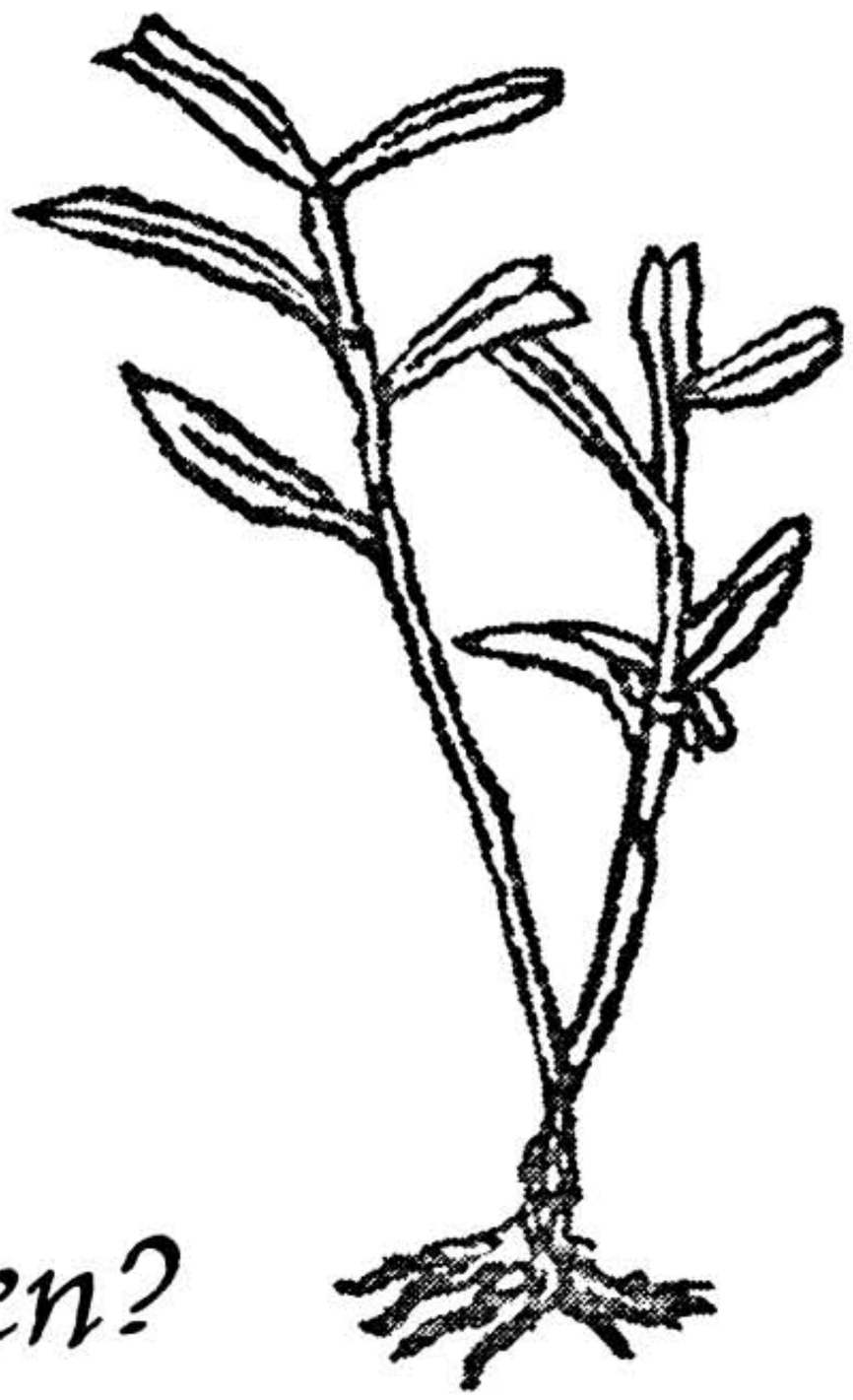
. . . Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To said beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.

ALFRED TENNYSON
Ulysses



6 Hell or Heaven?

The fierce and brilliant world of Hainan, surrounded by blank, primordial waters, provided little that the Chinese imagination could grasp. Mirroring no familiar conception, it could paralyze the minds even of cultivated men. Or if some comprehensible content could be discerned, it was likely to be a loathsome and deadly vision—a scene as unlike the good homelands far to the north as possible. It took

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the form of a medieval Devil's Island, far from Cayenne. Yet Dreyfus had antecedents there.

But is it possible that an opposite image was sometimes created by the island in the minds of sensitive men? Did anyone imagine that Hainan was a Paradise Isle, one of the Isles of the Blest, or even just a "Paradise of the Pacific," like modern Hawaii? There is evidence that they did so imagine it—or, at least, that some men hoped to discover the tokens of a sea-girded Eden there. We have already noted the hesitant optimism of Lu To-sun and Su Shih.

The inhabitants of many parts of the world have looked for paradise in the vast oceanic waters that surround the inhabited continents. Kosmas Indikopleustes surmised that ocean-bound Atlantis and the biblical paradise were the same.[1] In the fourteenth century the Franciscan friar Marignolli[2] believed that Ceylon was Eden—and even in our own day its central mountain bears the name of "Adam's Peak,"[3] since this, according to the Muslims, was the spot where Adam fell to earth on his expulsion from paradise. Other men placed the Fortunate Isles in the western seas, where the Hesperides sing sweetly in their orchard of golden apples. Some were enchanted by the thought of the happy Hyperboreans in the far north, or the blameless Ethiopians in the far south, but most western men believed that paradise lay to the east, ". . . where the rays of the rising sun would touch the earth first on the Fourth Day."[4] In modern times, this venerable belief is responsible for the naming of a family of jewelled birds on the great island of New Guinea—the Birds of Paradise.[5]

And indeed the presence of golden fruit and gem-like creatures is diagnostic of paradise. This was as much true of early China as of anywhere—perhaps even more true. For the ancient Chinese, whether they placed the abode of divine beings on the summit of the world, in high K'un-lun in the west, or on the three holy islands in the eastern sea, or elsewhere—in the sky or under the earth—these were shining metallic gardens, where angelically white animals stroll by turquoise lakes, under lustrous trees that tinkle cosmic

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tunes with their leaves of jade and berries of pearl, where pure, silvery wish-maidens sing sweetly in their crystalline palaces. All is fresh and bright there, untarnished and incorruptible, like precious metals and precious stones.[6]

Was there prima facie evidence that Hainan island might be such a sacred, jewelled place, or, at least, an antechamber or green gateway to paradise, with tokens of its identity visible to those who could interpret them? Indeed there was. Had it not been styled "Shore of Pearls" since antiquity? Surely not for no reason. Moreover, other, though less famous place-names attested to the abundance of precious substances there. Such were the Han townships of Tzu-pei "Purple Cowries"—named for a rare and expensive mollusk, whose beautiful shells were accepted as legal tender in the Chinese tropics—[7] and Tai-mei "Tortoiseshell," named for a prized material that embellished the household furnishings of medieval Chinese aristocrats.[8] A millennium later, in Sung times, this naming tradition—and the desirable wares as well—were still very much alive: "The mountain [i.e. island] produces pearls, rhinoceros [horn], and tortoiseshell; this is why it is called "Shore of Pearls." [9] So Su Shih was able to see the mountains behind his place of exile as a possible land of jade—both literally and metaphorically—by no means a useless rocky waste, as in this couplet:

> Observe, milord, these stones by the side of the road—
> All, surely, are the residue of the patching of the sky.[10]

The poet means that the bluish roadside stones, common enough on this ambiguous island, could easily be the debris from the job of repair done on the dome of heaven by Nü Kua, the ancient almost forgotten creatrix. This possibly divine litter suggested the nearness of Hainan to Heaven.

Most of all, the association of Hainan with divine gems finds its expression in the early application of the name *ch'iung* to a prominent hill region in the area of Chinese concentration in the north,

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and its elevation to the name of an important county in T'ang times. Here is an early Sung explanation:

> Ch'iung evidently takes its sense from the two hamlets of Ch'iung-shan (*ch'iung* mountain) and Po-yü (white jade), by Feng-hua village. Soil and rocks are both white like jade, and as glossy. The yams they plant on them are exceptionally fine, and the taste of the arecas grown there is particularly excellent. The meaning is precisely that these rocks resemble *ch'iung* and *yao*.[11]

In medieval texts, these are archaic and rather poetic words suggesting the most haunting gemstones, lovely, archaic jewels, and metaphorically all kinds of divine or fairylike beauty. But their specific identity had long since been forgotten—in texts of the classical age of Chou there are *"ch'iung* caps,"[12] and *"ch'iung* bangles,"[13] plainly tangible gemmed hats and girdle jewels. But what mineral composed them is not yet known. For some men of the T'ang period, at any rate, it was a red stone[14]—shall we call it rose quartz, or rhodonite, or carnelian? In any case it was a rose gem or carnation gem in medieval imagery. And Ch'iung-shan was "Rose-gem Mountain," a name familiar to all readers of old poetry:

> Millet of Great Liang,
> Cereal of Rose-gem Mountain—
> T'ang Chi disseminates their roots,
> The Farmer God samples their blooms.[15]

The T'ang scholiast Li Shan, on whose opinion the namers of the new "Rose-gem Mountain" on Hainan may well have relied, had identified that poetic place with the holy mountain K'un-lun,[16] where gemmy plants burgeoned. To the guardians of official nomenclature in the capital, at any rate, Hainan had become (euphemistically no doubt) a hill of antique gems, and conceivably a shining facade before the secret sanctuaries of the immortals—a handsome lobby or passageway to the fantastic palaces of the gods.

There are other evidences of this. The "sweet dew"—a manna

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whose real identity remains unknown—that betokens Heaven's approval of the imperial rule, descended, not on the capital, but on remote Ch'iung-chou in 1079.[17] Even more significantly, a holy "five-colored sparrow"—that is, a bird colored with the five cosmic hues, traditionally a messenger of the gods—was in the days of Su Shih's exile a regular inhabitant of Hainan. Surely this meant that the island was the normal residence of supernatural creatures! The poet, in his preface to the poem he wrote to celebrate this divine presence, remarked that the leader of the flock of his species was—presumably because of its brighter colors—called "the double orange," and that vulgar people called him *feng-huang* "phoenix," saying that his appearance presaged rain after a drought—but rain was never unlikely in Hainan, where these birds seem to have been common. One of the luminous creatures took up residence by Su's dwelling south of the walled town of Tan-erh, and he composed the poem in its honor:

Flashing, flaming—five-colored feathers:
Follower of phoenix from quarter of fire!
Blue and yellow—silken dusky costume;
Wing guarded—paired buskins vermeil.

Humane heart, understanding hopeless farmers;
Constant teller of tokens—rain or fair.
I am impoverished—only four walls;
A shattered house—but no crow to look up to.

How generous—this flashing one!
To come and perch on bamboo and kola-nut!
A tinkling song, like jade pendants,
Its aim and purpose—to amuse and divert me.

In the hush and quiet, a pair of scholars Li,
Eating greens, truly gaunt pedagogues.
A little orchard, strewn with the creatures of spring,
A wild peach, spread with snowy skin.

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Lifting a cup, I achieve a single smile,
Seeing this chick of the red simurgh!
Spirits high—like flying sylph—
Not easy to cry out with a handful of millet!

Why is it you go and come again?
Surely no affection attaches you to me?
Wheeling and soaring over these glebes—
Why need you cherish this city? [18]

The poem needs a commentary. To Su Shih, the gaudy bird was at once a classical omen of felicity (perhaps of his pardon and return!) and a pleasant little companion and neighbor. The first quatrain describes it—though I cannot identify it. The second quatrain praises its benevolence—the ill-omened crow is absent from his ridge-pole, the auspicious five-colored has replaced him! The sacred "phoenix" eats only bamboo and kola (*wu-t'ung*)—the vulgar may not be wrong in so identifying it! Its pleasant tinkling voice—celestial and divine—deigns to entertain me. The Li scholars are the unique pair of educated aborigines, who befriended Su during his exile. Like the ancient pedagogues of Chou, they eat abstemiously—as Su is obliged to do, far from the fleshpots. But there are compensations in the beauties of flower and fruit (the powdery skin of the peach suggests the beautiful skin Yang Kuei-fei, who had lived three hundred years before). The "chick of the red simurgh" is the Vermilion Bird, the auspicious bird of the South, now Su Shih's place of residence. The "handful of millet" refers to the ancient custom of divining the future by giving grain to birds—surely, he thinks, my destiny is fortunate! The "city" or "metropolis" of the last line is ironic or hopeful—the word cannot reasonably be applied to his wilderness village. If the divine bird hovers here, the poet may soon return to the great metropolis!

Su Kuo wrote a poem on the same theme, matching his father's rhymes, and also celebrating the surprising presence of the paradisia-

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cal bird in Hainan, as if it were one of the blessed isles. It says in part:

> In the caverns of Hainan's pagan Lao—
> How did we get this odd chick?
> It seems an envoy of the Three-legged—
> A sylphling would shout if he saw it! [19]

Here the scarlet bird appears as the offspring of the three-legged sun-bird, itself an avatar of the sacred red bird of the south, whose appearance makes the transcendent beings of the sacred islands rejoice. The Chinese were not very familiar with islands—all were wonderful, Hainan among them.

A well-known twelfth-century book published somewhat beyond the stated period of our present study, but entirely consistent with earlier sources, tells that the men who live in isolated spots on the higher slopes of the interior mountains ". . . where we see the azure of the peaks floating in the void, and below the bright, limitless haze," enjoy exceptionally long lives in leisure and contentment. Our authority observes the similarity of this situation to ancient Chinese traditions of long-lived persons happy in their remote and blessed valleys.[20] Indeed, while in Hainan, Su Shih had already written many poems inspired by T'ao Ch'ien's verses, enlarging that old master's dreams of garden-utopias where men might live in peace and quiet long beyond the span of ordinary busy mortals. The belief that longevity is most readily achieved in isolated, rustic environments links Hainan with those legendary paradises, well known to the Chinese generally, and made much of by the Taoists.

The resemblance had been marked even in T'ang times by the poet Wu Wu-ling (Ngu Myu-lyĕng), the earliest Chinese to find beauty in the monsoon wilderness of Nam-Viet. He compared the perennially red-flower-strewn landscapes of the Li of Kwangsi to the coralline gardens of K'un-lun [21]—the continental counterpart of the island paradise of Hainan. Moreover, the very word "grottoes" (*tung*) applied by the Hua men to all remote settlements of the na-

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tives of the far south, whether cavernous or not, both in the pitted limestone hills of Kwangsi and in the granite- and quartzite-hemmed hollows of Hainan, must inevitably have suggested the "grottoes-heavens" (*tung t'ien*), those underground paradises accessible to the purified initiates of Taoism.

But despite the obvious analogies with rocky K'un-lun, Hainan *was* an island, and therefore most like the wave-lapped insular Eden called P'eng-lai. Since the earliest times, P'eng-lai had been the object of men's hopes for unearthly liberty and peace, but no one could tell its location or its accessibility for sure. Some said that its silver towers were based on the carapace of a gigantic sea turtle [22]—if so, its location could not be permanent. Others said that its gemmy sands could be reached only by liberated beings who had acquired the art of flight along with new imponderable bodies [23]—but this was not the portion of most mortals. Yet the hope remained, despite the evident failure of the great imperial sea-borne expeditions of the third and second centuries B.C., that even men of solid flesh might stand on the marches of P'eng-lai. These bright borderlands might lie in Hainan—the only large island in the eastern seas known to the ancient Chinese.

In T'ang times, Yen Wei (Ngyăm Wi), writing the verses required by convention in honor of a friend about to depart for Tan-chou, advised him to accommodate himself—however hopeless the prospects might be—to what he called the "southern wilderness." Menacing spirits encountered on the way would yield to auspicious ones at the destination:

> Though trolls may have been your companions,
> P'eng-lai will approach to do honor to a gentleman! [24]

After spectral hosts of the tropical jungle, an apparition of the divine island—and where else but in Hainan? But the fear most men had of the island was a barrier to its acceptance as an antechamber of paradise. Still, there were some who confessed that it was not as bad as it was usually pictured. A man of the tenth century was able

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to say, "There is nothing particularly unpleasant about the waters and earth of Shore of Pearls," adding that there were worse places much closer to home.[25] Even the most famous literary exiles, Su Shih, though not quite an island booster, could find a little something in its favor:

> For food—no meat;
> For excursions—no friends;
> For dwellings—no houses;
> For diseases—no physicians;
> For winter—no charcoal;
> For summer—no cold springs . . .
> But we can rejoice above all that in summer there are neither flies nor gnats.[26]

These are the words of an urban sophisticate, little pleased with his environment—yet they contain no anathema. The poet did not love "the Exotic"—no more than did anyone else of his time. His tempered admiration for the tropics was a kind of reconciliation, developing into a pleasant kind of escapism, whose foundation was the belief that the exile was merely temporary. Hence, since he did not fear and despise the island, it was possible for Su Shih to detect supernatural signs that revealed its true identity—a vision hidden from those exiles who despised it. He left his thoughts in the preface to a poem whose translation appears just below. There he explains that as he was being carried in a litter from Ch'iung-chou to his new residence in Tan-chou he dozed off, and dreamed of a phantasmagoria of high mountains and valleys, alive with weird monsters and sounding with strange music. Awakening to find himself in a rain storm, he (as he says) "playfully made these verses":

> Four counties ringing this one island—
> A hundred grottoes coiling in their midst:
> I go along its northwest corner,
> Like crossing the half-bow of the moon.[27]
> Ascending a height, I look off toward the Central Plain;

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But see only heaped up water and the void.
In this life, how may I ever return?—
I look around in the four directions—but the true paths are gone.
I gaze closely at the Great Ocean Sea,
Sit chanting—an old fellow chatting with Heaven;
In the boundless expanse of the Grand Granary
A single grain—is it sperm or ovum?
My bosom's dark recesses—unawares shattered and dispersed,
I chant and whistle—to bring the winds of heaven to me!
A thousand mountains—active with scaly, armored things,
A myriad valleys, drunk with mouth organs and bells!
Can I be sure that this is not an assembly of sylphs—
A feast in the Pivotal Heaven not yet finished?
Rejoicing that my return has its date—
I take up wine to pledge the Blue Boys!
The driving rain—surely it is not meaningless!
An urgent poem will set the dragon horde running!
My complexion alters unawares under dreamlike clouds—
My aspect changes too under laughing thunder.
We should marvel that Tung-p'o grows old—
His face decays, but his language is still artful.
It is now long since this miraculous sound
Has been heard in the Palace of P'eng-lai! [28]

The reader will surely see here the four (Sung) Hainanese counties of Ch'iung, Tan, Yai and Wan-an, surrounding the upland refuges of the aborigines, but separated from the Yellow River valley—the seemingly unattainable homeland—by endless sea and sky. The poet, a vital speck in the great wilderness—is reconciled with his isolation by following the pleasantly shifting images of his dream. After all, he is fortunate enough to dwell among dragons, the holy rain-bringers—to become companion of the transcendental musicians of P'eng-lai. His own stanzas do not shame him among these numinous beings. His words are not merely playful: the deadly monsoon coast may after all be an annex of the holy crystal palace,

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while the *worldly* city, the center of human civilization, up to now longed for, may be only a grimy arena. What! he thinks, life could be renewed here!

Su Shih's awareness of divine presences on Hainan was strengthened as he was about to leave the island. He wrote a text to be inscribed on a monument in honor of the guardian spirit of a hill near his place of exile. The preamble to his paean sketches the history of mineral treasures of the past—such national jewels as the Great Jade of Chou and the ritual gem (*huang*) of Lu, both of which protected the altars of the gods and kept the people in order. He recalls the eight treasures given to a nun of T'ang times by the supreme god (*shang ti*), in whose honor, as all men know, the emperor declared the opening of the new era "Treasure Response" (*Pao ying*).[29] Su had been living close by a crag shaped like a seated and hatted man overlooking the southern sea. Now he believes that this too was a stone blessed by the supreme god, and equally worthy of being honored as a divine treasure. He outlines its story: the Li natives call it *kak-pak*.[30] In the tenth century the kings of Southern Han had honored its numen with the title "Widely Virtuous Sea-quelling King."[31] At the end of the Five Dynasties period, a native expert of "auras" reported the presence of a "treasure aura" on the rock. Accordingly, a group of aborigines moored a boat at its foot, and began digging for the hidden treasure, but a sudden storm destroyed them—plainly just punishment for their profane attempt to seize "the treasure bestowed by the supreme god as an oblation to the southern pole." In 1082 the Sung court awarded the deity of the rock a new title, "Lofty and Numinous King."[32] Now, after three years of suffering, Su Shih is full of gratitude to the stone god and his hidden treasure for his release: "My drink has been salty and my food rancid, and I have felt the oppression and violence of typhoons and [malarial] fogs—but I am permitted to return. Surely the spirits of the hills and streams have assisted me!" He concludes with some remarks about the miracles associated with the divine hill: there are purple-scaled fish in a pond

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there, which the folk fear to touch, and if you try to remove any of the lichees or yellow tangerines from the peak, rain and hail will surely ensue. He decides that the island of Hainan is indeed an outpost of paradise: "Fang-hu and P'eng-lai—here is their detached palace!" [33]

It was inevitable that banished literati should find it necessary for their souls' safety and their hearts' peace to *create* a paradise in whatever hell they might find themselves. In aid of this creative activity they could draw on all the rich store of imagery in traditional poetry and cosmology. In due time this copious cultural overlay—it was little more to these pioneers—built out of a satisfying tradition, could fuse with the actual scene, so that the men who followed them, centuries later, inherited an acceptably acculturated scene rather than an empty and frightening environment. So the work of edenization could be continued and even accelerated.

The magic name of P'eng-lai appears from time to time in Chinese history attached, usually with good reason, to places in various favored parks, pleasaunces and inspiring promenades. The most famous examples come from the T'ang period. Kao Tsung changed the name of the Great Luminous Palace (*Ta ming kung*) at Ch'ang-an to "P'eng-lai Palace," so identifying its lovely buildings and gardens with those far off in the Pacific. The township of P'eng-lai, created at Teng-chou in Shantung, also in the seventh century, appropriately faced the quarter in which the sacred islands were supposed to lie.[34]

It should come as no surprise to learn that a form of aloeswood incense produced on Hainan in Sung times was marketed under the name "P'eng-lai Aromatic." [35]

Even if the trade name of these aromatic lumps referred primarily to their mountainous shape, neither merchant nor buyer was likely to miss the association of the mythical floating paradise with the modern isle.

In our own century there is a market-town built on the weathered green and red surfaces of the black basalt near Wen-ch'ang near the

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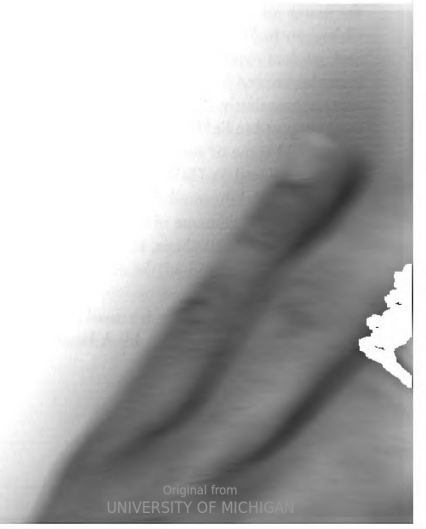
northeastern corner of Hainan.[36] It is called P'eng-lai. This toponymic remnant does not appear to us latter-day romantics as an adequate survival of Su Shih's vision. Still, however shrunken, the vision is not quite extinct in our own time: "The southern shore has wonderful sandy beaches, pleasantly hot winter sunshine and cool nights. It could in the future become the Riviera of the Chinese working people."[37]

Poetic images do survive their creators and their creators' worlds, although who can say whether in any generation they will be sterile as stone or fertile as field? Wallace Stevens has said it:

> But the images, disembodied, are not broken.
> They have, or they may have, their glittering crown,
> Sound-soothing pearl and omni-diamond.[38]



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Notes

INTRODUCTION (Pages 1–3)

[1] CTS, 41, 49a; YTCS, 124, 7a.

[2] E.g. in LH, "Lun jih."

[3] YTCS, 124, 7a, and other standard sources.

[4] For details see Schafer (1967), 267–268.

CHAPTER I (Pages 5–24)

[1] Swinhoe gives its position as from 20° 8′ to 17° 52′ north latitude, and from 108° 32′ to 111° 15′ east longitude. Swinhoe (1870c), 78.

[2] Huxley (1962), 152.

[3] *Hai-nan Li-tsu Miao-tsu tzu-chih chou,* capital at Tungtza. Fairfax-Cholmeley (1963), 39.

[4] See Pelliot (1959), 242–244, for the Mongol, late medieval and early modern history of this name, especially for its curious treatment in Rashīd ud-Dīn and the Portuguese geographers, but he does not notice early Sung occurrences, as in Su Shih. Fenzel (1933), 82, states (wrongly) that Polo does not mention the island, but otherwise his book is the best single study of Hainan now available, especially for natural history and the history of the island's exploration.

[5] Fenzel (1933), 82.

[6] Fenzel (1933), 83. But Fenzel's statement that Father Martino Martini's atlas shows Hainan is apparently in error. See Pelliot (1959), 242–244.

[7] Fenzel (1933), 83. Another list of early scientific explorers of

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Hainan, including not only the familiar European names, but the Japanese ones—which I have omitted, perhaps unforgivably—and especially the name of W. Y. Chun of Nanking who was in Hainan in 1920, partly under Harvard auspices, is given in Groff, Ding, and Groff (1923), 28.

[8] Lived 1835 (or 1836) to 1877.

[9] Swinhoe's reports on Hainan, however, were *read* to the Society in 1867 and 1870. Boase (1901), 850; Wallace (1911), 400–401.

[10] Henry (1886), 7–8. Cf. Fenzel (1933), 84. H. F. Hance (1827–1886), sometime Consul at Canton, enjoys great fame for his study of the south Chinese flora, but I cannot discover that he ever botanized in Hainan. It appears that he got the Hainanese specimens for the herbarium from men like Henry.

[11] Mus (1930), 438; Fenzel (1933), 84.

[12] Mus (1930), 438; Fenzel (1933), 84.

[13] For reports of these trips see McClure (1922), (1925), (1933), and (1934). These new botanical materials, including many new species, formed the basis of the descriptive and taxonomic work of E. D. Merrill, much of it in collaboration with W. Y. Chun (Ch'en Huan-yung), during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. See also Groff, Ding and Groff (1923), 27, and the published descriptions in Merrill (1928), and in his short supplementary lists in later volumes of the *Lingnan Science Journal.*

[14] Pope (1924), 215.

[15] Savina (1929), 6, 25–48.

[16] See Fenzel (1933), 85.

[17] The earlier trip is reported in Stübel and Li (1933); the second in Stübel and Meriggi (1937). See also Duyvendak (1939), 405.

[18] Dictionaries explain the element **tam* as 1) "carry on the shoulder," 2) "a bulk measure," and 3) "northeastern dialect for 'pot.'" It seems likely that all of these meanings coalesce around the idea of "a burden carried on the shoulder."

[19] Commentaries on Ying Shao and Yen Shih-ku on HS, 6, 0306a; HHS, 110a, 0880c. *K'ang hsi tzu tien* note the occurence of one of these forms in *Kuan tzu,* and gives the meaning of "a remote stage of the sun's passage." Possibly this is an echo of the original sense of the name, suited to an island off the east coast of China, the place of the

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sun's birth. SHC (Ta huang pei ching) places the country of Tan-erh, where the incised ears of the people hang down to their shoulders, in the *northern* seas. It is only Kuo P'u, the post-Han commentator on this text, who identifies it with the country of Li-erh which SHC (Hai nei nan ching) places in the southern seas, "South of the Yü Rivers," i.e. the modern Sikiang in Kwangsi. SHC, 10, 49a; 17, 80b. It appears that the commentators on the Han histories and other contemporary texts found the name of Tan-erh (Tam-nhi) in the legendary northern seas an appropriate one to apply to the almost mythical island called Tam (or Chem or Shem) in the southern seas.

[20] Ying Shao's commentary on HS, 6, 0306a.

[21] HHS, 33 k'ao cheng, 0711a.

[22] SIC, b, 6a; Lu Kuei-meng's poem "Ch'iu shu," where the expression "vermilion shore" is parallel to "white feathers."

[23] TCTC, 70, 12a, for the third century A.D.

[24] SuS, 22, 1485a, with reference to the song *yu so szu*.

[25] LS, 54, 1839a; TT, 188, 1007a–b; TCTC, 211, 13a.

[26] LWTT, 4, 40.

[27] THTL, in TPKC, 269, 4a–4b.

[28] THTL, in TPKC, 286, 6b.

[29] SC, 6, 0024d–0025a.

[30] HHS, 115, 12b, and HS, 28b, 0429d respectively. Odaka (1950), 12, notes some similarities between the customs of the Japanese and of the Li, such as the traditional topknot, the loincloth, elements of women's clothing, and especially the "*geta* which have three holes and two teeth." He also notes a handful of words in the two languages that resemble each other, proving nothing.

[31] LH, ch. 8 (shih tseng); HHS, 2, 0655a.

[32] HHS, 2, 0655a. The Ai-lao may have been the same as the "White Man" of T'ang. See Schafer (1967), 49. For the pygmoid "wren people," see Schafer (1963a), 47—Confucius said they were three feet tall. Some traditions put them southwest of China, others on an island in the south-eastern sea. They are said to have been cave-dwellers, excellent diviners, and to have sent tribute of ivory, carabaos, and zebus.

[33] SC, 129, 0277b.

[34] HS, 28b, 0429d.

[35] HHS, 116, 0898a–b.

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[36] A title inherited by the famous Ma Yüan in the later Han period.

[37] HS, 6, 0350d–0306a; HS, 64b, 0520c; HS, 95, 0604d. See also Schafer (1967), 15–16. For a convenient chronology of the Chinese occupation of Hainan down to the twelfth century A.D., see YTCS, 124, 1b–2a.

[38] As suggested by Mayers (1872), 7.

[39] PLC, in YTCS, 124, 6b–7a; CCFC, 6, 10a; 11a, 18a.

[40] SC, 122, 0266b; HS, 90, 0588b.

[41] HS, 28b, 0429d; HHS, 116, 0898a–b.

[42] HS, 7, 0308b.

[43] HS, 8, 0311c.

[44] HS, 64b, 0520c.

[45] HS, 64b, 0520a–0521a.

[46] For his story see, *inter alia,* Schafer (1967), 97–99.

[47] HHS, 33, 0710b; CCFC, 23, 1a; Mayers (1872), 7.

[48] HHS, 65, 0773d; Mayers (1872), 8. CCFC, 23, 1a, reports the appointment of one T'ung Yin as Grand Protector (*t'ai shou*) of the county of Tan-erh in A.D. 74, the year in which we noted the submission of the men of Tan-erh along with the pygmies above. But I have not yet found contemporary evidence of this man or the event.

[49] CCC, in TPYL, 172, 13b.

[50] SKC, Wei, 30, 1006a; Tsunoda (1951), 11.

[51] LIC and CKCC, quoted in SCC, 36, 23b–24a. Authors of both books are unknown: they must be pre-sixth century.

[52] SKC, Wu, 8, 1048b–c. The officer was Hsüeh Tsung. His word, which I have expressed by "civil administrators" is *chang li.*

[53] SKC, Wu, 2, 1036d; 16, 1064c. CS, 14, 1120d.

[54] SKC, Wu, 13, 1059a; 15, 1062c.

[55] CS, 14, 1120d. Other sources give the years as 281. Some later texts maintain that a shadowy Township of the Pearl Administration (*chu kuan hsien*) was kept there in Chin and Sung times. See YTCS, 124, 2a.

[56] SuS, 5, 1426d.

[57] FYC, in TPYL, 172, 13b; YTCS, 124, 2a; Hung (1935), 39c; Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 175.

[58] See Schafer (1967), 61–64 for more on the Byung family. They originated in Kao-liang, the En-chou of T'ang times.

[59] Ch'iao-kuo fu-jen. PS, 91, 3022b; SuiS, 80, 2530b–c.

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[60] SuiS, 31, 2440a. FYC, in TPYL, 172, 14a, states that Sui established Lin-chen chün (the Chen-chou of T'ang) on the south coast of the island—but SuiS lists only a Ning-yüan Township there.

[61] SuiS, 52, 2481d.

[62] SuiS, 44, 2469b.

[63] Schafer (1967), 61.

[64] See summary account in Schafer (1967), 18–20.

[65] Schafer (1967), 19.

[66] See, for instances, CTS, 41, 48b, and also our Introduction.

[67] The sources disagree about these populations statistics. I have chosen "reasonable" figures, possibly sometimes far wide of the mark.

[68] CCFC, 44, 13a, tells how the new county seat was designated by an omen—doubtless a post-T'ang apocryphal tale.

[69] TS, 43a, 3b–4a; CTS, 41, 48a–b, 49a–b; FYC, in TPYL, 172, 14a; TPHYC, 169, 8a, 11a, 13a, 18b.

[70] One of the sons of (T'ang) Hsien Tsung, and one of the sons of Chao Tsung bore this title. CTS, 175, 2a, 8a. CCFC, 42, 5a, reports a Sung prince (Chao Chung-lei) with the title in the late eleventh century, but I have not found him mentioned in SS.

[71] TS, 3, 6a; Schafer (1967), 62.

[72] TS, 130, 4a–4b; Schafer (1967), 35.

[73] TS, 166, 5b; Schafer (1967), 64.

[74] TS, 43a, 3b–4a; 78, 10a; CTS, 41, 49a; TCTC, 223, 14a; Schafer (1967), 64. T'ang Ch'iung-chou was south of modern Ch'iung-chou, and more exposed to the hill tribes.

[75] CTS, 41, 49a; and see Introduction.

[76] TS, 9, 2a; TCTC, 250, 15ff; Schafer (1967), 67–68.

[77] TC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 10b; CCFC, 11a, 10b; 22, 11a. This affair, apparently not noticed in the dynastic histories, seems to survive only as a matter for local pride among the Chinese settlers.

[78] TC, in YTCS, 124, 10b.

[79] See Schafer (1954), passim.

[80] For details see NHTLC, 13–14.

[81] See CCFC, 42, 4b; SKCC, 102, 6a–6b.

[82] NHCSC, 1, 7; YTCS, 124, 11a.

[83] YTCS, 124, 10a.

[84] NHC in YTCS, 124, 7b.

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[85] SS, 481, 5698c. Cf. Schafer (1952), 162.

[86] There is some disagreement in the sources about the year in which this arrangement was made. TPHYC, 169, 11b, says that Yai was made subordinate to Ch'iung in 970, at which time the Sung conquest was incomplete, but YTCS, 124, 2b–3a, states that this did not happen until 971, a more probable date, soon to be followed by the subordination of the other three *chou*. See also SS, 90, 4713d, which gives no specific date. There were, in addition to these administrative changes, a number of minor ones, involving the *hsien* (my "townships"), e.g. the abolition of Lo-ch'ang hsien (in Tan-chou) early in the Sung because of harassment by the natives. TPHYC, 169, 10a. Note: Lo-ch'ang is sometimes misprinted Lo-yang in the texts. See also YTCS, 124, 2b–3a, for other *hsien* changes.

[87] TPHYC, 169, 15b–16a; CCFC, introductory chapter, 2a.

[88] CKC, quoted in YTCS, 127, 3b.

[89] SS, 257, 5192c.

[90] SS, 12, 4518c.

[91] CCFC, 42, 5a. I have not discovered the contemporary source on which this report is based.

[92] SS, 495, 5729a–b.

[93] SS, 90, 4713d.

[94] See Schafer (1967), 51, for the importance of the Huang clan in Nam-Viet.

[95] SS, 15, 4524a; CCFC, 42, 5a.

[96] SS, 90, 4713d. For other figures on the Sung population, somewhat garbled, see TPHYC, 169, 8a, 13a, 16b.

[97] SS, 17, 4527b.

[98] SS, 20, 4532d; 90, 4713d; YTCS, 124, 3a.

CHAPTER 2 (Pages 25–54)

[1] I shall not attempt to reconstruct the whole of the medieval natural history of Hainan (supposing that were possible), but only suggest its primeval character. Many details, shared with those of the lost wilderness of medieval Nam-Viet generally, have already been described in Schafer (1967). In this book I shall show only a few highlights, not typical of the mainland—for instance, there were oranges on Hainan (though not the best), but no lemons on the mainland.

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[2] That is, until the first establishment of some kind of Chinese administration in the southern part of the island by Sui.

[3] Schafer (1967), 149. Cf. the same book, p. 294 (and n. 107) for a simliar title of a T'ang map, where "Hainan Island" most likely means only "islands south of the sea."

[4] Schafer (1967), 148.

[5] SS, 204, 4994c; Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 178.

[6] SS, 270, 5225c–d. CCFC, 42, 4b, gives 978 as the years of the formal presentation of the book to the government.

[7] CCFC, 42, 4b. SS, 307, 5313a–b, provides his biography, but does not mention the book. He was regarded as a good administrator.

[8] Huxley (1962), 15a; Ripley and LIFE (1964), 11, 102.

[9] Huxley (1962), 152.

[10] There are also some remnants of metamorphic rocks. McClure (1922), 67; McClure (1933), 382; Lee (1929), 62–67; Savina (1929), 24; Fenzel (1933), 123–124; Tate (1947), 15–16.

[11] Savina (1929), 34; Lee (1929), 62–63.

[12] LWTT, 1, 6.

[13] For a characterization of the mountains of Hainan see Schafer (1967), 13. Reports of the height of the summit of the Five Fingers range vary from 6300 to 7300 feet. Recent maps favor the lesser figure. See McClure (1922), 70–72.

[14] PLC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 6c.

[15] PLC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 5a. "Southern pole" is *nan chi.*

[16] TC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 10a–10b. Cf. KHYHC, 32b.

[17] KHYHC, 32b–33a.

[18] TPHYC, 169, 11a.

[19] For the "Minx" or "Hoyden" star see Schafer (1967), 124–125.

[20] Comment on Su Shih "Ho ni ku" No. 4, in SWCKS, 42, 8b, quoting an unidentified MSC, possibly a Ch'ing book (cf. *Ming sheng tsa chih* of that dynasty); PLC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 5a–5b; YTCS, 124, 1a; Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 182.

[21] CKC, quoted in YTCS, 127, 3a.

[22] CKC, quoted in YTCS, 127, 3b.

[23] Fenzel (1933), 139.

[24] Su Shih, "Chiung cho t'ing," STPC, ts'e 7, ch. 7, pp. 88–89.

[25] YTCS, 124, 8b.

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[26] For a general picture of the famous thermae of Nam-Viet and their virtues, see Schafer (1967), 146–147.

[27] TPHYC, 169, 10b. Cf. YTCS, 126, 3a, for the hot springs at Wan-an on the opposite side of the island. "Migraine" is a doubtful rendering of *feng*.

[28] Schafer (1967), 127.

[29] Fenzel (1933), 138.

[30] Su Shih, "Ho T'ao wu yüeh tan jih tso ho Tai Chu-po," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 92.

[31] Su Shih, "Shu Hai-nan feng t'u," TPTP, 6, 34a–34b. Cf. paraphrase in Lin (1947), 372. Lin's translation of the Chuang-tzu quotation seems to me to be particularly mistaken. I much prefer that of Herbert A. Giles, who gives, refering to the vital necessity of heaven-given breath: "God supplies it day and night without cease, but man stops the passage." Giles (1889), 360.

[32] Malaria and other tropical diseases are endemic in Hainan. Recently the Chinese authorities have claimed the elimination of malaria by draining swamps on the east coast in 1956. Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 23; Fairfax-Cholmeley (1964), 38. The Ch'ang-hua region, where Su Shih spent his exile, was, it seems, relatively free of it. Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 178.

[33] SS, 270, 5225d.

[34] CKC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 6a.

[35] Swinhoe (1870c), 78; Fenzel (1933), 127.

[36] SS, 67, 4643d.

[37] SS, 67, 4644a.

[38] Su Shih, "Ho t'ing yün," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 91.

[39] Le Gros Clark (1935), 219.

[40] M.C. Bwĕt-ghaai, the Pohai Sea.

[41] Literally "screening shade," the name of an ancient storm god.

[42] An ancient water god.

[43] Where Chiang Yü crushed the Ch'in army.

[44] Where Kuang Wu Ti crushed Wang Mang's army.

[45] Su Shih, "Chü feng fu," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, pp. 119–120.

[46] See Schafer (1967), 128–129.

[47] YTCS, 124, 8b.

[48] LPLI, a, 2.

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[49] TPHYC, 169, 10b.

[50] SIC, b, 15a.

[51] There is iron and tungsten in the interior mountains, but the former seems not to have been exploited in medieval times, and the latter, of course, unknown.

[52] McClure (1922), 69.

[53] Lee (1929), 72.

[54] See TS, 43a, 3b–4a; TPHYC, 169, 17a–17b; Schafer and Wallacker (1958), 228, for the T'ang and early Sung tribute in gold from Hainan.

[55] TYTP. For details see Schafer (1963a), 37–39.

[56] TPHYC, 169, 13b–14a.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Schafer (1967), 31.

[59] Schafer (1967), 163.

[60] TS, 43a, 3b; Schafer and Wallacker (1958), 228.

[61] SS, 90, 4713d.

[62] Schafer (1967), 157.

[63] TS, 43a, 4a. Mentioned for Ch'iung, Tan and Chen.

[64] SS, 183, 4936d.

[65] McClure (1922), 69; Lee (1929), 71.

[66] Fenzel (1933), 168–170.

[67] Swinhoe (1872b), 53.

[68] Fenzel (1933), 137.

[69] Fenzel (1933), 156.

[70] Savina (1929), 35.

[71] Fenzel (1933), 135.

[72] McClure (1934), 169.

[73] Henry (1886), 332; Groff, Ding and Groff (1922), (1923), (1925), passim; Fenzel (1933), 168–170, 172–173; Parker and Ford (1893), 167); Ch'en (1957), passim.

[74] Henry (1886), 123.

[75] Henry (1886), 475.

[76] McClure (1925), 118.

[77] Fenzel (1933), 168–170.

[78] Groff, Ding and Groff (1922), (1923), (1925), passim; Clark (1938), 406; Parker and Ford (1893), 167; Huxley (1962), 152; Schafer (1967), 201.

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[79] YTCS, 124, 8a–8b, 9b.

[80] Wu-k'o (fl. 835), "Sung Li shih-chün fu Ch'iung-chou chien wu chou chao t'ao shih," ChTS, han 12, ts'e 1, ch. 2, p. 5b.

[81] Schafer (1967), 168.

[82] See, for instance, Schafer (1967), 180.

[83] See Schafer (1963a), 184–185.

[84] See Schafer (1967), 186.

[85] See Schafer (1963a), 166, and below.

[86] There are some unsolved problems in this text. The expression *lou-t'ou* which follows the word for "citron," and designates a sweet fruit, remains unexplained, and although the word **palanat* seems to be cognate to Sanskrit *pānasa,* but the degree and nature of the relationship is a mystery.

[87] YTCS, 124, 9b.

[88] Schafer (1967), 179.

[89] TS, 43a, 4a. The "white liane" of Hainan was prized (TPHYC, 169, 136), and so were others.

[90] YYTT, 10, 251; Schafer (1967), 192.

[91] YTCS, 124, 9b.

[92] YTCS, 124, 7b; Ch'en (1957), 612.

[93] McClure (1934), 586–587.

[94] Schafer (1963a), 136; Schafer (1967), 172.

[95] McClure (1934b), 586–587. Nowadays the hard black wood of *Diospyros hainanensis* is much used for coffins and pipe-stems on Hainan. Possibly it was in former times also.

[96] TPHYC, 169, 9b–10a, 13a.

[97] SIC, b, 6a.

[98] Wolters (1960), 326 ff.

[99] Schafer (1967), 197.

[100] TPHYC, 169, 9b–10a, 13b; LWTT, 7, 71; KHYHC, 7b–8a; Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 176.

[101] YTCS, 124, 7a.

[102] KHYHC, 7b–8a.

[103] Su Shih, "Ch'en hsiang shan tzu fu," STPC, ts'e 8, ch. 8, p. 4. There is a translation of this *fu* in Le Gros Clark (1935). See p. 178 for the passage I have translated.

[104] Su Shih, "Ho ni ku," sixth of the nine, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 107.

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[105] SWCKSHC, 42, 9b–11a.

[106] Henry (1886), 451. See p. 387 for the customs surrounding the gathering of wood.

[107] Possibly *Aquilaria sinensis,* said to be a distinct species.

[108] KHYHC, 9a; Schafer (1967), 197 and note 325.

[109] Groff, Ding and Groff (1925), 118.

[110] LWTT, 7, 72.

[111] KHYHC, 8b; LWTT, 7, 72.

[112] TS, 43a, 4a; TPHYC, 169, 19b; CLPT, 12, 309; Schafer (1963a), 166; Schafer (1967), 197–198.

[113] Schafer (1967), 169.

[114] TS, 43a, 4b; TPHYC, 169, 9b; SS, 90, 4713d; Swinhoe (1872b), 78–79; Schafer (1967), 195.

[115] KHYHC, 21b–22a.

[116] Groff, Ding and Groff (1925), 126.

[117] YYTT, 4, 36.

[118] Schafer (1967), 177.

[119] TPHYC, 169, 14a; Schafer (1967), 176.

[120] YTCS, 124, 7a.

[121] Swinhoe (1872b), 66.

[122] YTCS, 124, 7a.

[123] Schafer (1967), 173–174.

[124] Sandal-Wood (1892), 388.

[125] Schafer (1967), 175.

[126] Ibid.; SS, 90, 4713d.

[127] YTCS, 124, 6a–6b; LWTT, 8, 84.

[128] Schafer (1967), 183–185.

[129] TPHYC, 169, 10b. See the end of this book for more on the natural image.

[130] Su Shih, "I huang tzu mu . . . sheng jih chih shou," SWCKS, 42, 2a.

[131] Schafer (1967), 188–190.

[132] A poem written on Hainan tells about a visit he made to the garden of a military officer to admire the red fruits for which it was famed. Su Shih, "Tan chou," No. 2, STPC, ts'e 101, ch. 2, p. 47.

[133] LWTT, 8, 86.

[134] *Artocarpus integra.*

[135] Schafer (1967), 196; YTCS, 124, 10b.

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[136] *Phoenix hanceana*. Schafer (1967), 176.

[137] YYTT, 10, 251; Schafer (1967), 192.

[138] *Dioscorea* sp. YTCS, 124, 6b, quoting the authority of Su Shih; Schafer (1967), 182.

[139] "There are, in addition, other citrus fruit trees which are called lemons, obviously imported delicacies propagated from cuttings." Jacobi de Vitriaco, *Hist. Iherosolym* (ca. 1200), cited in Yule and Burnell (1886), 513–514.

[140] YHCHC, p. 24; LWTT, 8, 88–89; Laufer (1934), 145–147; Yule and Burnell (1886), 513–514.

[141] TPCL, 1, 5b–6a.

[142] "A fruit was borne hither from the distant Hesperides,/ The golden-cheeked Mangosteen that provides the gods nectar and ambrosia—/ By far most savory of all the Indies' fruit." J. Bontius, 1631, cited in Yule and Burnell (1886), 557.

[143] So we are informed by YTCS, 124, 7b.

[144] Quoted by Ch'eng Ts'ang-ch'i, in PTKM, 31, 15b.

[145] LPLI, b, 10. The Chinese name for the mangosteen is *tao-nieh* [*tzu*] (*tau-nep*) or *tu-nieh* [*tzu*] (*tu-nep*), suggesting an original like **tonep*.

[146] Burkill (1935), 1046, 1052.

[147] Ch'en (1957), 846–847.

[148] See Wallace (1911), 407.

[149] YTCS, 124, 8b; 169, 10b.

[150] TPKC, 479, 1b. The sources give *ling piao* for *ling nan*—the emendation is obvious.

[151] LPLI, c, 20.

[152] LPLI, c, 20; PHL, 1, 10; Schafer (1967), 209.

[153] Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in PTKM, 45, 35b.

[154] The two forms occur in modern editions of KHYHC, 19a, and LWTT, 7, 81. The graphic variability is easy—it is a choice between *mo* "foam" and *wei* "tasty."

[155] Savina (1929), 22; Fenzel (1933), 122.

[156] WTLC, 9b. This book was still extant in T'ang times. TS, 58, 3766d. Cf. Schafer (1963a), 237–238 for the wonderful luminescent pearls.

[157] Schafer (1967), 161–162.

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[158] TPHYC, 169, 13b.
[159] CCFC, 37, 1a.
[160] LPLI, c, 20.
[161] Schafer (1967), 208.
[162] TPHYC, 169, 13b–14a; SS, 9, 4514b. Cf. LWTT, 7, 77.
[163] See the description in LPLI, c, 20.
[164] YTCS, 124, 7b.
[165] Ripley and LIFE (1964), 86.
[166] Schafer (1967), 213.
[167] Swinhoe (1870a), 239–241.
[168] Schafer (1967), 216–217. Cf. Huxley (1962), 152. The modern natives use python skins for the heads of their drums, and also on their lutes. Henry (1886), 487.
[169] YTCS, 124, 7a.
[170] SS, 5, 4505c.
[171] SS, 9, 4514b; Schafer (1967), 215–216.
[172] TS, 43a, 3b; SS, 9, 4514b; Schafer (1967), 215.
[173] Su Kuo, "Tung yeh huai chu hsiung ti," HCC, 1, 3b–4a.
[174] HS, 28b, 0429d.
[175] YTCS, 124, 4b.
[176] LPLI, b, 15.
[177] *Muntiacus muntjak, Cervus eldi,* and *Cervus unicolor.* For these deer (and other mammals), see Swinhoe (1872b), 58; Swinhoe (1869), 652–660; Henry (1886), 498 ff.; Savina (1929), 36; Clark (1938), 410; Fenzel (1933), 177–180; Tate (1947), 334–344. The muntjac is called *kia* (Mand. *ching;* M.C. *kyăng*). The two larger deer both seem to be called *chu* in later sources. Swinhoe points out that the Hainanese muntjac is the Indochinese species, distinct from that of mainland China.
[178] *Hylobates concolor* and *Pygathrix nemaea.* Cf. Schafer (1967), 231, 233. See Tate (1947), 26–27 for a classification of the mammals of Hainan.
[179] Huxley (1962), 152.
[180] *Balaenoptera swinhoii.*
[181] Swinhoe (1870b), 231. See this source passim for much of interest about the mammals of Hainan. See also Henry (1886), 498ff for the whale and others.

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[182] Cheng (1964) does not list a single species unique to Hainan, but there are unique races, as there are among the mammals, many of them only recently discovered.

[183] Swinhoe (1872b), 68, names Tyfar and Tychow islands off the southern coast. I have found no evidence that these nests were gathered for cookery in medieval times.

[184] Swinhoe (1870c), passim; Schafer (1967), 245, 247.

[185] KHYHC, 15b; Schafer (1967), 238.

[186] KHYHC, 14a.

[187] Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 235.

CHAPTER 3 (Pages 55–76)

[1] Schafer (1967), 12.

[2] Mo (1960), 121, 124–125, 129.

[3] Fairfax-Cholmeley (1963), 39, claims that they came to the island "in Neolithic times," but this is surely conjecture, unless she means only that their culture was only at the neolithic level—but that has always been so.

[4] Henry (1887), 482; Mus (1930), 440. Henry thinks the name is cognate to "Malay."

[5] Perhaps his choice was conditioned by the fact that (as he observed) the Chinese on Hainan apply the name Loi fairly indiscriminately to a variety of non-Li people there. See Savina (1929), 30.

[6] Duyvendak (1939), 405.

[7] Duyvendak (1939), 406.

[8] Swinhoe (1872a), 29–33 (this source has some interesting material on the Li tribes in the eighteenth century, based on a Chinese book of 1751); Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 20–21, 180, 290; Duyvendak (1939), 405.

[9] Benedict (1941), 129; Schafer (1967), 10.

[10] Savina (1929), 3; Savina (1931), 103; Benedict (1941), 129.

[11] Some authorities call them "Miao."

[12] Savina (1929), 36; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 309; Schafer (1967), 10.

[13] Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 1, 315–317; Benedict (1941), 129; Schafer (1967), 75.

[14] Savina (1929), 3; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 1. This Fukienese

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language is what Henry (1886), 334, calls "The Hainanese dialect . . . in its purity."

[15] Savina (1929), 4; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 1.

[16] KHYHC, 30a–33a. See Schafer (1967) for Nung (pp. 50–51); Huang (p. 50); "bridle and halter counties" (p. 71); Yao (pp. 10–11); P'an-hu (pp. 107–108); Lao (pp. 48–49); Man (pp. 7, 49); Li (p. 53); Tan (p. 52).

[17] I observe the use of the old ethnic name Ou with special reference to the people of Hainan in the T'ang commentary of Szu-ma Chen on SC, 43, 0152a. Perhaps he was archaizing. Cf. Schafer (1967), 13–14 for this name.

[18] Schafer (1967), 62.

[19] Schafer (1967), 53.

[20] Tchang (1905), 347.

[21] KHYHC, 32b–33a.

[22] LWTT, 2, 19.

[23] PLC, in YTCS, 124, 5b. A similar story is quoted in the commentary on Su Shih, "Ho ni ku," No. 4, SWCKS, 42, 8b, from MSC (see n. 20 Chapter 2 above for this source).

[24] As in MITC.

[25] Including those in Swinhoe (1872a), 28; Mayers (1872), 6.

[26] Sandal-Wood (1892), 388.

[27] See Swinhoe (1872a), 28; Savina (1929), 38–39; Mus (1930), 439; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 136.

[28] TPHYC, 169, 9b, 13a.

[29] TC, quoted in YTCS, 126, 2b.

[30] SS, 495, 5729a–b.

[31] LWTT, 2, 19.

[32] See KY.

[33] *Tung hsüeh*. SS, 257, 5192c.

[34] SS, 300, 5296a.

[35] *Ch'ao hsüeh*.

[36] SKTP, c, 5b.

[37] See, for instance, KC, a, 2a: "The men of Shore of Pearls all dwell in nests."

[38] TC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 6a.

[39] Schafer (1967), 54.

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[40] Stübel and Meriggi (1937), passim.

[41] TC, quoted in YTCS, 126, 2b; adding that few had tiled houses. The modern Li thatch their roofs with *Imperata cylindrica*. McClure (1925), 117.

[42] Savina (1929), 33; McClure (1922), 75.

[43] LWTT, 2, 19.

[44] TPHYC, 169, 9b. The expression *chu yü* (*zho yu*) "yam and taro" is treated in some modern dictionaries as if it were identical with *chu-yü* (*zho-yo*) "yam." This is an error. The former is a coordinate construction, shortened from *chu-yü* "yam" and *yü* "taro," as proved by abundant medieval examples. For instance, *hung chu yü tzu yü* "red yam with purple taro."

[45] Takakusu (1929).

[46] Among the modern Li (or at least some of them) the men burn clearings in the forest, do the hard work in the fields, care for the water buffaloes, and do hunting and fishing. The women set out the young rice plants, help in the harvest, gather wild plants, cook, spin and weave, and care for smaller animals such as pigs and chickens (Stübel and Meriggi [1937], 42). Probably this has always been the Li division of labor. In telling that the silkworms are gathered in eight times each year, Chen-chien apparently refers only to the Chinese settlers on the island. See Takakusu (1929).

[47] McClure (1922), 77.

[48] Swinhoe (1872b), 59; Swinhoe (1870b), 237–238; Clark (1938), 401.

[49] LPLI, b, 15; Schafer (1963a), 73; Schafer (1967), 223.

[50] TC, quoted in YTCS, 126, 2b.

[51] McClure (1922), 77. Odaka (1950), 29, points out that the old belief that the Li break up the clods in their fields only by turning their cattle loose in them is erroneous. They do use a plow.

[52] Schafer (1967), 82.

[53] Su Kuo, "Chi mao tung Tan jen . . . hsiung ti," HCC, 3, 2a–2b.

[54] Su Shih, "Ho ch'üan nung," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 90.

[55] PHL, 2, 28.

[56] KHYHC, 13b.

[57] KT, 13b; Schafer (1967), 212.

[58] ChKC, in TPYL, 172, 13b. Cf. SS, 495, 5729a–b.

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[59] *Chi-pei*. Cotton was grown in Nam-Viet from the eighth century. Schafer (1967), 180.

[60] TPHYC, 169, 3a; LWTT, 6, 66; KHYHC, 13b; CCFC, 5, 39b; McClure (1934b), 591; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 130; Burkill (1935), 345, 501ff.

[61] TS, 43a, 4a; TPHYC, 169, 18b; ChKC, in TPYL, 172, 13b; SS, 495, 5729a–b; TC, in YTCS, 126, 2b; CKC, in YTCS, 127, 3b; LWTT, 2, 19; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 293; Ch'en (1957), 795–796.

[62] KHYHC, 13b.

[63] TPHYC, 169, 9b, 13a; SS 495, 5729a–b.

[64] PHL, 3, 41, 44; LPLI, in CCFC, 5, 22b (not in modern editions of LPLI); Schafer (1967), 177–178.

[65] Takakusu (1929).

[66] KHYHC, 32b–33a; LWTT, 2, 19. Cf. Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 30–31, for the modern Li.

[67] TPHYC, 169, 13a; KHYHC, 32b–33a; LWTT, 2, 19.

[68] TPHYC, 169, 13a–13b; KHYHC, 32b–33a.

[69] Clark (1938), 403–404.

[70] KHYHC, 32b–33a; LWTT, 2, 19.

[71] TPHYC, 169, 9b, 13a–13b; STC, in TPYL, 172, 14a; KHYHC, 32b–33a; LWTT, 10, 116–117.

[72] Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 34–35. Among some of the modern Li, new brides add tattooed designs on their hands, and in at least one, the men have their separate and characteristic tattooes. Clark (1938), 403, 411. A T'ang source says of the aborigines of Nam-Viet generally that they tattoo themselves to ward off dragons and other sea monsters when they are on or in the water. YYTT, 8, 62. But it is by no means certain that Li tattooing shared this meaning.

[73] McClure (1934), 591.

[74] TPHYC, 169, 9b; SS, 495, 5729a–b.

[75] KHYHC, 12a; LWTT, 2, 19; 6, 59.

[76] TPHYC, 169, 13a–b; KHYHC, 11a–12a; LWTT, 6, 59, 61; SS, 495, 5729a–b.

[77] LWTT, 2, 19.

[78] TPHYC, 169, 13a–b; cf. TC, in YTCS, 126, 2b.

[79] Su Shih, "Shu Liu Tzu-hou Niu fu hou," STPC, ts'e 8, ch. 9, pp. 25–26. The modern Li still beat numbers of water buffalos to death at

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funerals. See Savina (1929), 42; Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 66; Fairfax-Cholmeley (1963), 438. A similar buffalo sacrifice is carried out by the Bahnars of Indochina. Mus (1930), 438.

[80] LWTT, 10, 125; Schafer (1967), 102–103.

[81] Schafer (1967), 90–93.

[82] LPLI, a, 6.

[83] LWTT, 10, 114; cf. Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 178.

[84] TPHYC, 169, 13a–13b.

[85] KHYHC, as quoted in CCFC, 5, 38a.

[86] Schafer (1967), 52–53; Ho (1967), 122–123.

[87] TC, in YTCS, 126, 2b.

[88] Schafer (1967), 53.

[89] TC, in YTCS, 124, 7b.

[90] Su Kuo, "Tung yeh huai chu hsiung ti," HCC, 1, 3b–4a.

[91] LWTT, 6, 59, 61; 2, 19; KHYHC, 30aff.

[92] Schafer (1967), 10–11.

[93] *Li:* Chinese government agents, not of the gentry class.

[94] HS, 64b, 0520c.

[95] Translation of Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 181.

[96] THTL, in TPKC, 286, 6b.

[97] SKTP, c, 5b.

[98] For turncoats and other native servants of the Chinese in Nam-Viet generally, see Schafer (1967), 69–72.

[99] SKC, Wu, 8, 1048c.

[100] Schafer (1967), 218.

[101] LWTT, 2, 19.

[102] LWTT, 4, 46. The custom was still alive in the early twelfth century, according to CCFC, 22, 1b. During the reign of Hui Tsung, newly submitted highland chieftains were entitled "Esquires who Accept the Trust" (*Ch'eng hsin lang*), and their heirs took the title from them, and adopted the personal sobriquet of Ch'eng "Accept."

[103] Su Shih, "Shih pa ta O-lo-han sung," STPC, ts'e 9, ch. 20, p. 71.

[104] Lu To-sun, "Shih nan ts'un," No. 2, in CCFC, 41, 41b.

[105] CCFC, 36a, 11b.

[106] Su Shih, "Tan-erh szu chüeh chü," No. 3, STPC ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 71. Cf. the translation in Watson (1965), 130.

[107] Su Shih, "Ho kuei mou . . . t'ien she, erh shou," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 98.

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[108] KT, 5b.
[109] Su Shih, "Ho ni ku," No. 9, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 107.
[110] Su Shih, "Ho ch'üan nung," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 90.
[111] Su Kuo, "Lun Hai-nan Li shih shu," HCC, 5, 2b–8a.
[112] The modern Li still keep records on notched sticks. See Stübel and Meriggi (1937), 58–60.
[113] Cf. the account of these proposals in Lin (1947), 374.

CHAPTER 4 (Pages 77–84)

[1] Chiao-chih yang, i.e. the Gulf of Tongking.
[2] *San ho liu.*
[3] A term in *Chuang tzu* "Ch'iu shui" for the place where all the waters of the world converge and pour into the ultimate abyss. It is the drain of Ocean.
[4] LWTT, 1, 9–10.
[5] SCC, 36, 24a.
[6] Lu Po-te and Ma Yüan. Cf. above pp. 11–15; Schafer (1967), 97.
[7] Su Shih, "Fu po chiang chün miao pei," STPC, ts'e 9, ch. 15, p. 23.
[8] *Hai ch'ü.*
[9] SCC, 36, 24a; CTS, 41, 48b; YTCS, 127, 5a; SS, 495, 5729a; YHCHC, quoted in YTCS, 124, 5a.
[10] Su Shih, "Shu Liu Tzu-hou niu fu hou," STPC, ts'e 8, ch. 9, p. 25. Cf. Lin (1947), 373.
[11] TPHYC, 169, 9a, says seven days; TPHYC, 169, 12b, says ten days, and gives the itinerary on the mainland coast.
[12] TPHYC, 169, 9a, 12b.
[13] YTCS, 127, 4a–4b, and CKC, quoted in YTCS.
[14] YTCS, 124, 6b.
[15] SS, 495, 5729a–b.
[16] Su Kuo, "Lun Hai-nan Li shih shu," HCC, 5, 5b.
[17] Above, and Schafer (1967), 177–178.
[18] LWTT, 2, 19, and above.
[19] Su Shih, "Ho ch'üan nung," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 90.
[20] Ebony is *wu wen* "raven patterned." The text also mentions **k'ya-t'a,* which should represent a non-Chinese word like *kata.* I cannot identify it.
[21] THTL, in TPKC, 269, 4b–5a.
[22] LWTT, 2, 20.

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[23] Su Shih, "Tan-erh szu chüeh chü," No. 1, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 71. Cf. Lin (1947), 373.

[24] SS, 284, 5257a.

[25] THTL, in TPKC, 269, 4a–4b.

[26] SS, 186, 4945a.

[27] YTCS, 124, 9b–10a. A divine wind opened up an adequate channel in 1188.

[28] CTS, 41, 50a; Wheatley (1961), 35–36.

[29] CTS, 41, 50a; Wheatley (1961), 55.

[30] A rather conjectural interpretation of *te mou fa,* to say the least.

[31] THTL, in TPKC, 286, 6a–6b.

[32] Schafer (1967), 28.

[33] Schafer (1967), 180.

[34] Swinhoe (1872b), 67.

[35] Period 1041–1049.

[36] SS, 189, 4952c; 4954a; CCFC, 18a, 1a.

CHAPTER 5 (Pages 85–101)

[1] Schafer (1967), 31.

[2] Savina (1929), 7.

[3] Ibid.

[4] See examples in CCFC, 42, 2b–3a. "Penal exile" was a rather common punishment in the time of the Empress Wu, and many prominent people suffered it.

[5] TS, 168, 4057c–d; Waley (1963), 167–168; Schafer (1967), 39.

[6] Schafer (1967), 151.

[7] Schafer (1967), 67.

[8] YTCS, 124, 8b–9a.

[9] Schafer (1967), 44.

[10] YTCS, 127, 6b.

[11] Li Te-yü, "Che Ling-nan tao-chung tso," LWKC, pieh chi, 4, 204; Schafer (1967), 44.

[12] CCFC, 11a, 6a.

[13] TYL, 7, 186.

[14] CY, 7, 2a.

[15] Su Shih, "Ho ni ku, chiu shou," No. 7, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 107.

[16] Li Te-yü, "Teng Yai-chou ch'eng tso," LWKC, pieh chi, 4, 205; translated in Schafer (1967), 44.

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[17] Li Te-yü, "Chi chia shu," and Li shan t'ing shu huai," in CCFC, 41, 19b.

[18] PMSY, 8, 67.

[19] PMSY, 8, 67; translated in Schafer (1967), 44.

[20] Po Chü-i, "Li Te-yü hsiang kung pien Yai-chou, san shou," No. 3, PSCCC, 20, 25b.

[21] TYL, 7, 186.

[22] CKC, in YTCS, 127, 6b.

[23] JCSP, 1, 8.

[24] Lu To-sun, "Shui nan ts'un, erh shou," No. 1, CCFC, 41, 41a.

[25] Lu To-sun, "Shui nan ts'un, erh shou," No. 2, CCFC, 41, 41b.

[26] Often styled Ting Chin kung.

[27] YTCS, 127, 7a; CCFC, 32, 2a (based on his *Sung shih* biography.)

[28] YTCS, 127, 7a.

[29] In PCHH, ts'e 7, and fragments in HFLSF, ts'e 40, ch. 98.

[30] YTCS, 127, 4a.

[31] SKTP, b, 8a.

[32] SWLC, 31, 10b.

[33] Lin (1947), 346, 366, 371, 398.

[34] Le Gros Clark (1931), 25, 26, 32.

[35] Su Shih, "Tao Ch'ang-hua hsieh piao," STPC, ts'e 8, ch. 13, p. 86.

[36] Su Shih, "Yeh meng," STPC, ts'e 7, ch. 6, p. 78.

[37] Here I rely on the extensive treatment in Lin (1947), 374.

[38] Su Shih, "Kuang-lang an ming," STPC, ts'e 13, ch. 10, p. 16; SS, 338, 5384b; CCFC, 11a, 19a; Lin (1947), 376–377.

[39] Schafer (1967), 250.

[40] Schafer (1967), 250.

[41] Su Shih, "Wen Tzu-yu shou," CCTPS, 25, 24a–24b.

[42] Watson (1965), 131.

[43] Su Shih, "Ch'iung chou hui t'ung ch'üan chi," STPC, ts'e 9, ch. 15, p. 15. Written in the summer of 1100.

[44] Su Shih, "T'ien ch'ing kuan ju ch'üan fu," STPC, ts'e 8, ch. 8, p. 6. Cf. translation in Le Gros Clark (1935), 143.

[45] Su Shih, "Tan-chou, erh shou," No. 1, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 46.

[46] *T'ien men tung* (*Asparagus lucidus*). CCFC, 5, 40a.

[47] Su Shih, "Yung kuo yün . . ." CCTPS, 11, 8b–9b.

[48] See Lin (1947), 381.

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[49] Su Shih, "Yu lai Tan-erh te fei kou . . . ," STPC, ts'e 7, ch. 7, p. 88. Le Gros Clark (1931), 28; Watson (1965), 132–133.

[50] SS, 338, 5384b.

[51] Su Shih, "Hai-nan jen pu tso han shih . . . ," CCTPS, 6, 10b–11a.

[52] Su Shih, "Li shih tzu tsai sheng shuo ming hsien shih," TPCL, 2, 20b–21a; Lin (1947), 380.

[53] Su Shih, "Shu shang yüan yeh yu," TPTP, 6, 34b–35a. Inexactly translated in Lin (1947), 375.

[54] *Cyprinus* sp.

[55] Su Shih, "Shu ch'eng pei fang yü," TPTP, 6, 35a–35b. Ponds where fishes could be formally released seem to have been everywhere. Cf. the "Pond for Releasing Life" in Sung Ch'iung-chou. YTCS, 124, 7a.

[56] Le Gros Clark (1931), 28–29; Lin (1947), 382–383.

[57] YTCS, 125, 5a; Lin (1947), 382.

[58] Su Shih, "Ho lien yü tu yin, erh shou," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 96.

[59] Su Ch'e, "Chui ho T'ao Yüan-ming," SPTC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 89.

[60] He had done commentaries on the "Changes" and the "Analects" while in exile on the mainland. SS, 338, 5384b; Lin (1947), 383.

[61] Le Gros Clark (1931), 29.

[62] YTCS, 124, 10a.

[63] Lin (1947), 375.

[64] Su Shih, "Tan-erh, szu chüeh chü," No. 4, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 71.

[65] Lin (1947), 376.

[66] Le Gros Clark (1931), 27.

[67] For all this paragraph see LCYH, 1, 5; YTCS, 124, 12b.

[68] Su Shih, "Ho ni ku, chiu shou," No. 4, STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 107.

[69] Su Shih, "Ts'ao chi chien ho fu tz'u ch'i yün," STPC, ts'e 4, ch. 13, p. 3.

[70] Watson (1965), 11; Schafer (1965a), passim.

[71] Watson (1965), 9.

[72] Schafer (1967), 149–150, and elsewhere.

[73] Su Shih, "Ch'ou Liu ch'ai sang," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 3, p. 92.

[74] Su Shih, "Fang Tan shih chün shih huai ya leng t'ao," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 56.

[75] Su Shih, "Yeh wo cho tsu," in YTCS, 126, 5a; not found in the standard editions of his poems.

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[76] Wallace Stevens, "The Comedian as the Letter C."

[77] Su Shih, "Tseng Shao tao shih," TPCL, 2, 10b.

[78] Su Shih, "Tan-erh chi Tzu-yu," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 51.

[79] Su Shih, "Tan-chou shang yüan Kuo tzu fu shih chün hui," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 51 (also in ts'e 7, ch. 6, p. 83).

[80] Su Shih, "Tzu Ch'ang-hua shuang ch'i kuan . . . erh shou," No. 1, STPC, ts'e 2, ch. 4, p. 59.

[81] Su Shih, "Tan-erh," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 64.

[82] Lin (1967), 385–386.

[83] TCHL, p. 8b.

[84] An ancient shamaness.

[85] Su Shih, "Ch'eng-mai i t'ung ch'ao ko, erh shou," No. 2, STPC, ts'e 7, ch. 7, p. 88.

[86] TCHL, loc. cit.

[87] Hirth and Rockhill (1966), 178.

[88] Henry (1886), 503–504.

CHAPTER 6 (Pages 102–114)

[1] De Camp and Ley (1952), 12.

[2] The travels of Marignolli, a papal legate, may be studied in Yule (1915).

[3] De Camp and Ley (1952), 312.

[4] De Camp and Ley (1952), 310–311.

[5] De Camp and Ley (1952), 312.

[6] LT, "T'ang wen", 5, 4a–4b; SC, 6, 0024d–0025a, 28, 0115a; Schafer (1963b), 82–86, 89, 93–97, 99–101.

[7] Schafer (1967), 208.

[8] For these names, see TPHYC, 169, 15a.

[9] PLC, as from CKC, in YTCS, 127, 4a.

[10] Su Shih, "Tan-erh shan," STPC, ts'e 10, ch. 2, p. 46.

[11] TC, in YTCS, 124, 7a–7b.

[12] TsC, Hsi 28.

[13] ShC, "Wei feng, Mu kua."

[14] SWHC. Tuan Yü-ts'ai regards the *ch'ih* "red" of this definition as a graphic slip for *i* "also." Error or not, the meaning was accepted in early medieval times.

[15] Chang Hsieh (Chin), "Ch'i ming," LCCWH, 35.

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[16] By relating the jewel-cereals of Ch'iung-shan to the magical cereals of K'un-lun mentioned in SHC.

[17] SS, 15, 4524d.

[18] Su Shih, "Wu se ch'üeh," CCTPS, 13, 11a–11b. Cf. YTCS, 124, 9a.

[19] Su Kuo, "Wu se ch'üeh ho ta jen yün," HCC, 1, 3a–3b.

[20] LWTT, 1, 6.

[21] Schafer (1967), 260.

[22] YCC, p. 10.

[23] HNSCC, p. 4a.

[24] Yen Wei (fl. 756), "Sung Li pi-shu wang Tan-chou," ChTS, han 4, ts'e 9, 2a.

[25] YTCS, 127, 4a and 7a, with reference to the banishment of Lu To-sun.

[26] As quoted in YTCS, 124, 6a. Cf. the misleading paraphrase of Lin (1947), 374.

[27] Yoshikawa (1967), 104, comments that Su, describing his journey by road cutting directly across the crescent of the northwest coast of Hainan, is employing a newly found freedom of simile. However a poem of T'ang T'ai Tsung (as a gloss on the poem tells) had already compared a taut bow to the half moon. Su has extended the image to a road across a coastal bulge.

[28] Su Shih, "Hsing Ch'iung Tan chien . . . ," STPC, ts'e 7, ch. 6, pp. 76–77.

[29] See Schafer (1965b), passim, for the whole story.

[30] YTCS, however, gives *lak-pak*.

[31] Chen hai kuang te wang.

[32] Chün ling wang.

[33] Su Shih, "Chün ling wang miao pei," STPC, ts'e 9, ch. 15, p. 22. The inviolable tangerines and holy fish were known in the tenth century. See TPHYC, 169, 10b.

[34] There have also been P'eng-lais in Kwangsi and Szechwan, and a mountain in Hupei bore the name.

[35] KHYHC, 8b; LWTT, 7, 71.

[36] Lee (1929), 66.

[37] Fairfax-Cholmeley (1963), 39. The author of this passage visited Hainan in 1963.

[38] Wallace Stevens, "A Golden Woman in a Silver Mirror."

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Parenthetical abbreviations stand for books listed under "Collectanea and Encyclopedias" in the bibliography. They represent the edition used in footnote documentation unless otherwise stated in the note.

CCC Liu Hsin-ch'i 劉欣期, *Chiao chou chi* 交州記

CCTPS *Chi chu fen lei Tung-p'o shih* 集註分類東波詩 (SPTK)

ChKC *Chün kuo chih* 郡國志

CKC *Ch'iung kuan chih* 瓊管志

CKCC *Chiao Kuang ch'un ch'iu* 交廣春秋

CLPT T'ang Shen-wei 唐愼微, *Ch'ung hsiu cheng ho ching shih cheng lei pei yung pen ts'ao* 重修政和經史證類備用本草

CS *Chin shu* 晉書 (KM)

CT *Chuang tzu* 莊子

CTS *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (SPPY)

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CY Wang Pao-ting 王保定, *Che yen* 摭言 (SPPY)

FYC *Fang yü chih* 方輿志

HCC Su Kuo 蘇過, *Hsieh ch'uan chi* 斜川集 (CPTCTS)

HHS *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (KM)

HNSCC Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔, *Hai nei shih chou chi* 海內十洲記(PYTPC)

HS *Han shu* 漢書 (KM)

JCSP Hung Mai 洪邁, *Jung chai san pi* 容齋三筆 (KHCPTS)

KC Kuo I-kung 郭義恭, *Kuang chih* 廣志 (YHSS)

KHYHC Fan Ch'eng-ta 范成大, *Kuei hai yü heng chih* 桂海虞衡志 (PSNIC)

KT Chu Yü 朱彧, *K'o t'an* 可談 (PCHH)

KY *Kuang yün* 廣韻

LCCWH *Liu ch'en chu wen hsüan* 六臣註文選(SPTK)

LCYH Hui-hung 惠洪, *Leng chai yeh hua* 冷齋夜話 (TSCC)

LH Wang Ch'ung 王充, *Lun Heng* 論衡

LIC *Lin i chi* 林邑記

LNIWC Meng Kuan 孟琯, *Ling nan i wu chih* 嶺南異物志

LPLI Liu Hsün 劉恂, *Ling piao lu i* 嶺表錄異 (TSCC)

LS *Liang shu* 梁書 (KM)

LT *Lieh tzu* 列子

LWKC *Li Wei kung hui ch'ang i p'in chi* 李衛公會昌一品集 (KHCPTS)

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LWTT Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非, *Ling wai tai ta* 嶺外代答 (TSCC)

MSC *Ming sheng chih* 名勝志

NHC Ch'en Hsien 陳峴, *Nan hai chih* 南海志

NHCSC Wu Lan-hsiu 吳蘭修, *Nan Han chin shih chih* 南漢金石志(TSCC)

NHTLC Wu Lan-hsiu 吳蘭修, *Nan Han ti li chih* 南漢地理志(TSCC)

PHL Tuan Kung-lu 段公路, *Pei hu lu* 北戶錄(TSCC)

PLC Liu I 劉誼, *P'ing li chi* 平黎記

PMSY Sun Kuang-hsien 孫光憲, *Pei meng so yen* 北夢瑣言 (TSCC)

PS *Pei shih* 北史 (KM)

PSCCC *Po shih ch'ang ch'ing chi* 白氏長慶集 (SPTK)

PTKM Li Shih-chen 李時珍, *Pen ts'ao kang mu* 本草綱目 (*Hung pao chai* ed.)

PTSI Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器, *Pen ts'ao shih i* 本草拾遺

SC *Shih chi* 史記 (KM)

SCC Li Tao-yüan 酈道元, *Shui ching chu* 水經注 (SPPY)

ShC *Shih ching* 詩經

SHC *Shan hai ching* 山海經 (SPTK)

SIC Jen Fang 任昉, *Shu i chi* 述異記 (HWTS)

SKC *San kuo chih* 三國志 (KM)

SKCC Wu Jen-ch'en 吳任臣, *Shih kuo ch'un ch'iu* 十國春秋

SKTP Sun Sheng 孫升, *Sun kung t'an pu* 孫公談圃 (PCHH)

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SS	*Sung shih* 宋史 (KM)
STPC	*Su Tung-p'o chi* 蘇東坡記 (KHCTPS)
STC	Liang Tai-yen 梁戴言, *Shih tao chih* 十道志 (HTTLSC)
SuiS	*Sui Shu* 隋書 (KM)
SuS	*Sung shu* 宋書 (KM)
SWHC	Hsü K'ai 徐鍇, *Shuo wen hsi chuan* 說文繫傳
SWCKS	*Su Wen-chung kung shih ho chu* 蘇文忠公詩合注 (1795)
SWLC	Chu Mu 祝穆, *Shih wen lei chü* 事文類聚
TC	*T'u ching* 圖經
TCHL	Fan Cheng-min 范正敏, *Tun chai hsien lan* 遯齋閒覽 (HFLSF)
TCTC	Szu-ma Kuang 司馬光, *Tzu chih t'ung chien* 資治通鑑 (Tokyo, 1892)
THTL	Fang Ch'ien-li 房千里, *T'ou huang tsa lu* 投荒雜錄
TPCL	*Tung-p'o chih lin* 東坡志林 (HCTY)
TPHYC	*T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* 太平寰宇記
TPTP	*Tung-p'o t'i pa* 東坡題跋 (CTPS)
TsC	*Tso chuan* 左傳
TS	*T'ang shu* 唐書 (SPPY)
TT	Tu Yu 杜佑, *T'ung tien* 通典 (KM)
TTHSTCC	Chen-jen Yüan-k'ai 眞人元開, *T'ang ta ho-shang tung cheng chuan* 唐大和尚東征傳 (CSLT)
TYL	Wang Tang 王讜, *T'ang yü lin* 唐語林 (TSCC)
TYSIL	Tu Pao 杜寶, *Ta yeh shih i lu* 大業拾遺錄

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TYTP Su O 蘇鶚, *Tu yang tsa pien* 杜陽雜編

WTLC Chang Po 張勃, *Wu ti li chih* 吳地理志 (HTTLSC)

YCC Kuo P'u 郭璞, *Yüan chung chi* 元中記

YHCHC Li Chi-fu 李吉甫, *Yüan ho chün hsien chih* 元和郡縣志

YTCS Wang Hsiang-chih 王象之, *Yü ti chi sheng* 輿地紀勝 (1849 ed.)

YYTT Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎 (TSCC)

Collectanea and Encyclopedias

CCFC *Ch'iung chou fu chih* 瓊州府志 (1920 ed.)

CHC *Ch'u hsüeh chi* 初學記

ChTS *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩

CPTCTS *Chih pu tsu chai ts'ung shu* 知不足齋叢書

CSLT *Ch'ün shu lei tsung* (*Gunsho ruijū*) 群書類從

CTPS *Chin tai pi shu* 津逮秘書

HCTY *Hsüeh chin t'ao yüan* 學津討原

HFLSF *Han fen lou shuo fu* 函芬樓說郛

HTTLSC *Han T'ang ti li shu ch'ao* 漢唐地理書鈔

HWTS *Han Wei ts'ung shu* 漢魏叢書

KHCPTS *Kuo hsüeh chi pen ts'ung shu* 國學基本叢書

KM *K'ai ming* edition 開明

MITC *Ming i t'ung chih* 明一統志

PCHH *Po ch'uan hsüeh hai* 百川學海

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PSNIC	*Pi shu nien i chung*	秘書廿一種
PYTPC	*Pao yen t'ang pi chi*	寶顏堂秘笈
SPPY	*Szu pu pei yao*	四部備要
SPTK	*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*	四部叢刊
TPKC	*T'ai p'ing kuang chi*	太平廣記
TPYL	*T'ai p'ing yü lan*	太平御覽
TSCC	*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*	叢書集成
YHSS	*Yü han shan fang chi i shu*	玉函山房輯遺書

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GLOSSARY A: *Persons*

Chang 張
Chang Chi 張籍
Chang Lu 張祿
Chao (captain) 趙
Chao Chung-lei 趙仲儡
Chao Ju-hsia 趙汝夏
Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器
Ch'en Tsung-tao 陳宗道
Ch'en Wu-chen 陳武振
Chia Sun-chih 賈損之
Chia Tao 賈島
Chiang Lin 蔣璘
Chiang Meng-ching 姜孟京
Chiang T'ang-tso 姜唐佐
Chien-chen 鑑眞
Chu Ch'u-p'ing 朱初平
Ch'üan Tsung 全琮
Feng Ang (Byung Ang) 馮盎
Feng Ch'ung-chai 馮崇債
Feng Jo-fang (Byung Nhak-p'ywang) 馮若芳
Feng Pao 馮寶
Fu 符
Fu (captain) 傅
Fu Hu 符護
Han Hung 韓洪
Ho Lü-kuang 何履光
Hsi 洗
Hsin (captain) 辛
Hsüeh Tsung 薛綜
Huang Ying 黃嬰
Kao P'ien 高駢

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Li (captain) 李
Li Ching 李靖
Li Ch'ung-chü 李崇矩
Li Fu (Li Byuk) 李復
Li Fu (Li Pyu) 李符
Li Hu 李鄠
Li Huan 黎桓
Li Meng-tzu 黎穠子
Li Po-heng 黎伯亨
Li Shan 李善
Li Te-yü 李德裕
Li Tzu-yün 黎子雲
Li Tun 黎錞
Lin Shih-hung (Lyĕm Dri-ghwĕng) 林士弘
Ling Ts'e 凌策
Ling-hu T'ao 令狐綯
Liu Ch'ang 劉鼚
Liu I 劉誼
Liu Yen 劉巖
Lu K'ai 陸凱
Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙
Lu Po-te 路博德
Lu Sun 陸遜
Lu To-sun 盧多遜
Lü Chia 呂嘉
Ma Yüan 馬援
Mu-jung Yün-tse 慕容允則
Nieh Yu 聶友
P'an-hu 盤瓠
Shih Hsieh 士燮
Su Ch'e 蘇轍
Su Kuo 蘇過
Su Shih 蘇軾
Sun Hsing 孫幸
Sun Pao 孫豹
Szu-ma Chen 司馬貞
Ta Hsi-t'ung 達奚通
Tan Meng 儋萌
Ting Chin kung 丁晉公
Ting Wei 丁謂
Tu Yu 杜佑
T'ung Yin 僮尹
Tzu-yu 子由
Wang 王
Wang Chung-t'ung 王仲通
Wang Shang 王商
Wang Wan-ch'ang 王萬昌
Wei Chih-i 韋執誼
Wei Kung-kan 韋公幹
Wu-k'o 無可
Wu Meng 吳蒙

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Wu Wu-ling 吳武陵
Yang Lun 楊綸
Yang P'u 楊僕
Yang Yen 楊炎
Yen Wei 嚴維
Ying Shao 應邵

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GLOSSARY B: *Titles*

Chao t'ao yu i shih 招討游奕使

Chen hai kuang te wang 鎮海光德王

Ch'eng hsin lang 承信郎

Chi mi (chou) 羈縻州

Ch'iao kuo fu jen 譙國夫人

Ching lüeh shih 經略使

Chün ling wang 峻靈王

Hsün chien shih 巡檢使

Hsün hai shui chün 巡海水軍

Lou ch'uan chiang chün 樓船將軍

Pao ying 寶應

(Shui lu) chuan yün shih 水陸轉運使

T'ai shou 太守

T'ien fu 天福

Tu tu fu 都督府

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GLOSSARY C: Peoples

Ai-lao 哀牢
Ha 傞
Hua 華
Huang 黃
Ki 岐
Lao 獠
Li 黎
Man 蠻
Mei-fu Li 美孚黎
Nung 儂
Ou 甌
Tan 蜑
Wo 倭
Yao 猺

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GLOSSARY D: Places

Ch'ang-hua 昌化
Chen (chou) 振
Chen[a] (chou) 鎮
Chi-yang 吉陽
Chiao-chih yang 交趾洋
Ching-hai 靖海
Chiu-chen 九眞
Ch'iung (chou) 瓊
Ch'iung-shan 瓊山
Chu-yai 珠崖
Ch'un-chou 春州
Chung-chou 忠州
En-chou 恩州
Feng-hua 奉化
Hai-chung 海中
Hai-nan Li-tsu Miao-tsu tzu-chih chou 海南黎族苗族自治州
Hai-pei 海北
Ho-p'u 合浦
Hsü-wen 徐聞
Huang-chih 黃支
Hui-shan 惠山
I-lun 義倫
Jung-chou 容州
Jung[a]-chou 融州
Kao-liang 高涼
Lei (chou) 雷
Li-erh 離耳
Li mu Mountains 黎母山
Lien (chou) 廉
Lin-chen 臨振
Lin-kao 臨高
Lo-ch'ang 洛場

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Lo-yang 洛陽
Lun shui 淪水
Mang (mountain) 邙
Mei-ch'uan tu 嫵川都
Nam-Viet 南越
Ning-yüan 寧遠
P'eng-lai 蓬萊
P'i-hsieh 毗邪
Po-hsieh 渤澥
Sam-a 三亞
San ho liu 三合流
San kung miao 三公廟
Sung (mountain) 嵩
Tai-mei 玳瑁
Tan (chou) 儋
Tan-erh 儋耳,擔耳,擔珥
Tan-tan 丹丹
Teng-chou 登州
Ting-an 定安
Tungtza 通什
Tzu-pei 紫貝
Wan-an 萬安
Wen-ch'ang 文昌
Yai (chou) 崖
Yen-te 延德
Yung-chou 邕州
Yung jih hsüan 永日軒
Yü (river) 鬱

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GLOSSARY E: *Words*

chan (chem) 詹
chan (dran) 箋
chang li 長吏
ch'ao hsüeh 巢穴
che [ostracism] 謫
che-ku pan hsiang 鷓鴣斑香
ch'en hsiang 沈香
chi-pei 吉貝
ching "muntjac" 麠
ching po 鯨波
ch'iung 瓊
chu [sambar] 麈
chu yü [yam and taro] 藷芋
chu-yü [yam] 藷蕷,薯蕷
fei [ornate] 斐
fei [cockroach] 蜚
feng [migraine?] 瘋
feng t'u 風土
hai ch'ü 海曲
hsiang jung 香榕
hsiang szu tzu 相思子
hua li 花梨
huang [gem] 璜
*kak-pak 胳膊
kan-lan chu 橄欖珠
Kao liang [ginger] 高良[姜]
*k'ya-t'a 呿吒
*lak-pak 落膊
li [plow] 犁
li-meng 黎朦
liu [exile] 流
lou-t'ou 樓頭
mo [foam] 沫
nan chi 南極

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*palanat 波羅捺
pien [degradation] 貶
pu [linen] 布
*shěm. See *tam (*shěm)
*tam 儋，擔
*tam (*shěm) 瞻，曋，曋
tao-nieh (tzu) 倒捻子
te mou fa 得牟法
t'ien men tung 天門冬
tsai she ching po 再涉鯨波
tu-nieh (tzu) 都捻子
tung [grotto] 洞，峒
tung hsüeh 洞穴
wei [tasty] 味
wu [minx] 婺
wu wen 烏文
yao [break off] 拗
yao [gem] 瑤
yu so szu 有所思
yü [taro] 芋

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